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A Needless Risk of War

The "Panay" incident is now officially closed. Sharp discrepancies remain between the American and Japanese versions of what happened, but both governments are willing to let the two stories go unreconciled. There continues, however, to be the greatest possible danger of another clash. The United States has practically served an ultimatum on Japan that no more American citizens shall be harmed. Japan has announced that any foreigner caught acting in a manner hostile to Japanese interests in China will be shot. Obviously, the danger of another "Panay" affair will remain acute as long as we insist on keeping American citizens, including our armed forces, in the danger zone. The immediate dispute having been settled, we could now withdraw our nationals without any loss of face. To keep them where they are is to invite disaster. We urge our readers, if they are opposed to our further running the risk of war, to bring all possible pressure upon the authorities in Washington to remove Americans from China.

Oily Diplomacy?

Mexico has for a long time been embarked on a great progressive program including agrarian reform and ousting of foreign control of industry. This program has been exceedingly expensive, including as it does the purchase of large areas of land, of railroads and other utilities. The government is hard pressed for revenue. It is behind with salaries in some departments and does not pay its bills promptly. Even slight financial pressure would therefore, it is believed, force it to modify its program. American oil companies, which object to a recent wage decision, have apparently found the way to apply such pressure. A dispatch from Mexico City to The New York Times states that the United States government will stop buying silver from Mexico—purchases of which now supply about 13 percent of that government's income—unless the campaign for Mexicanization of industry is slowed down and guarantees for future treatment of American property are given. Also the oil companies themselves are making discreet threats of withdrawing, and thus depriving the government of their taxes, which add about six percent to its revenue. Of course, we have abandoned financial imperialism. Still oil is oil, whether in Mexican wells or on tankers in the Yangtze.

Henry Ford Defies the NLRB

Henry Ford continues in his stiff-backed opposition to the organization of his employees. The conflict is rising into a higher arena with each succeeding round; now it has come to the point where Mr. Ford has chosen to defy the decision of the National Labor Relations Board which has found him guilty of violating the Wagner Act and has ordered him to reinstate with back pay twenty-nine employees discharged for union activity, to cease interfering with the self-organization of his workers and to end his domination over the Ford Brotherhood, the company union. The Ford Company's reply was a statement which said, "The decision of the Board is based on prejudice. It is not founded on the facts in the record. . . . The company will appeal the decision to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals."

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In this legal stage, the battle between the Ford Company and the United Automobile Workers has at least advanced a step beyond the brutal violence of last May, when the Ford service men—including professional prizefighters and wrestlers—administered savage beatings to the UAW's organizers handing out leaflets at the River Rouge plant. Henry Ford has been completely callous, both in word and deed, in announcing his determination to resist collective bargaining. Repeatedly, in his public statements, he has warned that his workers will never be allowed to negotiate through a genuine union. He has neither denied nor sought to explain the violence his service men have employed. Now he is willing to take on the government as his next opponent.

The Eagle Strike Is Settled

After fourteen weeks the strike of the American Newspaper Guild members against The Brooklyn Eagle has finally reached a settlement. The peace agreement is distinctly a compromise; there are no salary increases and no provision for a closed or preferential guild shop, but 167 of the strikers have returned to work and the remaining 40 members of the editorial department have been put on a preferential list and in the meantime will receive severance pay for twenty weeks. Signing the agreement also implies, of course, recognition of the Guild as a bargaining agency for The Eagle's employees and it provides specifically, as well, for extension of the five-day, forty-hour week with equal time off for overtime to the business departments and increases in severance pay and vacations. No person covered by the contract shall be discharged except for cause after consultation with the Guild. Economy may not be given as the reason for a layoff and the contract applies only to those members of The Eagle's staff who belong to the Guild. Two points about the result of the strike are worthy of special note. In the first place the Guild has shown that it has a right to respect from the newspaper publishers. Despite its inferior resources of money and political influence the Guild was able to effect crippling cuts in both the advertising linage and the circulation of The Brooklyn Eagle. In the second place the preferential list for union members is a new technique in dealing with the wholesale dismissals that are taking place on newspapers—as well as in other business organizations—all over the country.

Spanish Relief

There is still a false rumor abroad that the American agencies collecting money to aid Loyalist Spain are rackets. Several weeks ago The New Republic described how the incomplete releases of the State Department threw the books of the relief agencies into a false light. Since then the newspapers of the country, in many instances, have continued to suggest a misappropriation of funds, by loosely worded headlines and sketchy news accounts. Despite the releases of the State Department to the contrary and despite the careless publicity the situation has received, the pro-Loyalist relief agencies have very creditable records. More than 80 percent of their total receipts in cash and kind have reached Spain in the form of direct relief. Less than 15 cents out of each contributed dollar has gone for administrative costs, and the remaining five or six percent is represented by cash on hand and deferred assets. This record has been achieved by the three largest pro-Loyalist agencies: the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Confederated Spanish Societies to Aid Spain. Up to the end of July these three groups had sent relief commodities valued at $633,000 to Spain and the fifteen smaller agencies together had sent about $250,000 more. A great deal of the confusion arose out of the failure of the State Department to discriminate between the pro-Loyalist and the one pro-rebel organization, the American Committee for Spanish Relief, which, in the same period, had raised $30,000, spent $25,000 and sent nothing to Spain.

Judge Geiger of Wisconsin

In the eastern district of Wisconsin, Judge Ferdinand A. Geiger of the federal circuit court has for many years been considered by labor as one of its arch-enemies. His court has been called "the injunction mill" because of the number of orders it has issued restraining labor activity. Progressives in the state have wished that Judge Geiger might be divested of his power, but until very recently there has seemed no likelihood of this. Now, however, Attorney General Homer S. Cummings has urged the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives to investigate Judge Geiger's action in discharging a grand jury when, after hearings that had lasted three months, it was about to issue indictments against General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, with their allied finance firms, for monopolistic practices in financing cars purchased on time payments. While the jury was in session, the Attorney General's office had conferred with representatives of the companies involved, offering to drop the proceedings if the objectionable practices were abandoned. Judge Geiger viewed these conferences as improper and dismissed the jury, destroying the results of its work and allowing the corporations to go free. Whatever the merits of the controversy between Judge Geiger and Attorney General Cummings may be, the Wisconsin labor movement hopes that the congressional investigation will materialize and that its scope will be sufficiently broad to uncover the damaging list of anti-labor decisions Judge Geiger has handed down for twenty-five years.

Business as Usual in Chinese Classrooms

Japan's invasion of China has had so many terrible consequences that it is hard to single out any one as being worse than another. Americans, however, who have done so much to aid Chinese education, may be interested to know what is happening to the

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universities and other institutions of higher learning. Five of them, with a total of 8,000 students, have been entirely destroyed. Ten others, with 10,000 students, have been partly obliterated. Forty-two more schools, with about 20,000 students, have been disrupted in greater or less degree. Even amid the horrors of invasion, China has not lost her deep interest in the higher learning, or faltered in her desire to keep the colleges going, at all cost. Temporary "district universities" are being set up, far in the interior, at places where it is believed the war cannot penetrate, and students are being sent there from the areas occupied by Japan. To aid this work, the modest sum of $25,000 is being sought in the United States. Contributions may be sent to the International Student Service, 8 West Fortieth Street, New York City.

To Free Tom Mooney

More than twenty-one years ago the Mooney-Billings case began. This past month the determined movement to win Tom Mooney his unconditional freedom has had a new impetus. In Washington a special Senate committee is conducting an investigation into the case, which has not before had congressional action. The hearings are on a resolution asking President Roosevelt to urge Governor Merriam of California to grant the prisoners full pardons because of the impressive evidence that has been assembled to prove the convictions were frame-ups. While the spotlight of the Senate investigation has been turned upon the case, thousands of Mooney supporters all over the country have rallied once again to demonstrate their belief in his innocence. On December 5, 10,000 people filled the San Francisco Civic Auditorium to hear Governor Elmer Benson of Minnesota as the principal speaker at a mass meeting of protest against his continued imprisonment. In New York City 12,000 assembled in Madison Square Garden, where Mayor LaGuardia voiced a similar protest.

News Notes of a Week

In Teruel, Spain, the Loyalist forces, which had recaptured the city in an impressive surprise offensive, besieged the few strongholds where Rebel troops still offered resistance. . . . Japanese armies pushed on rapidly into Shantung Province and Tsinan, its capital, fell into the hands of the invaders. It was feared that the priceless Chinese imperial treasures had suffered in their hurried removal from Nanking. . . . Colonel Fulgencio Batista, dictator of Cuba, agreed to an amnesty bill granting freedom to a great number of political prisoners. This is a move that dictators often make, though hardly ever do they then release political enemies who are really dangerous. . . . President Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic agreed to utilize the machinery offered by the nations of the Western Hemisphere for a peaceful settlement of his country's dispute with Haiti. A five-man committee of investigation and conciliation will examine the "incident" which, according to some reports, resulted in the death of as many as 12,000 Haitians.

At home, the downward trend of the business index continued after a very brief upturn during the Christmas holidays. . . . Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City remained defiant in his attitude toward union organization of the workers in his municipality. . . . After two months of negotiation, proposal and counter-proposal, the attempts to bring peace between the A. F. of L. and the CIO seemed to have come to a complete breakdown. . . . Two well known Americans died during the week, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War under Wilson, and Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State under Coolidge, whose name is linked with the Kellogg Peace Pact.

The Administration Strikes Back

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL Robert H. Jackson, one of the ablest men around the President, in a radio address on the day after Christmas fired a salvo against those who have been blaming the administration for the current depression and have been using the need for investment as a trading point for concessions to business that would undo a major part of the New Deal. The recession, he charges, is due to those who, through a monopolistic control of prices, "have simply priced themselves out of the market, and priced themselves into a slump." The worker who becomes unemployed through this indirect restriction of output of course cannot buy so much. "When the customer is lost, the merchant cancels his order for goods. And when the cancellation reaches back to big business, where it started, the big business man clamors that government should give him confidence."

Mr. Jackson illustrates his argument by the conclusion of what he describes as an authoritative study of steel wages, prices and costs between the April-June period of 1936 and the same period of 1937:

> This study shows that the increases in iron and steel prices, effective December 1, 1936, and March 1, 1937, were three times as great as necessary to cover the increased wages paid to steel workers and at least twice the amount necessary to cover the increase in cost of both labor and raw material during the same period.

This is a factor frequently referred to in The New Republic as one of the more important causes of what has happend. The rapid rise in prices last year, not only in steel but in other basic materials, brought about a building up of inventories in anticipation of further pricc rises, and of course eventually restricted new orders. In building construction, high prices undoubtedly prevented a continuation of needed expansion. We are now in the second phase of the depression, when a falling off of

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consumer-buying threatens further to restrict basic production—as in the case of the automobile industry, which raised its prices consequent upon the increase in costs of materials and labor.

Mr. Jackson also referred to another cause of the recession upon which we have previously commented. The government, by financing a much larger proportion of its expenditures by the collection of taxes than it did in the previous year, has reduced its net contribution to purchasing power by about $275,000,000 monthly. It did this, according to Mr. Jackson, in response to the plea that "if the government would reduce its expenditures, business confidence would revive and private industry would more than make up the slack." But big business reacted by the sort of restrictive profiteering referred to above.

In spite of these influences, however, Mr. Jackson believes the depression will not be long continued or severe. Our financial institutions are sound and overflowing with potential credit; there has been no overbuilding or overinvestment; unemployment insurance will soon go into operation and help to sustain retail markets. Labor is recognized and will coöperate; farmers are better off than usual, and foreign trade is expanding. If necessary, the government by increased spending will again come to the aid of our economy. All this is reassuring and undoubtedly true. If unforeseen or undiscovered factors do not interfere, then we need expect nothing like as severe consequences as those which followed 1929.

But what is to be done about the big monopolists? Are they going to go on ruining our chance for continued good times by a grasping price policy? In this respect Mr. Jackson can offer us less assurance. One infers that his speech is a prelude to an attempt to break up monopoly by a new anti-trust offensive. The history of the past fifty years is not encouraging on this score. The questions are: first, whether any anti-trust legislation can be more successful in preventing evasion than that of the past and, second, whether even if enough competition were restored to satisfy the most ingenious legal definition, inflexible prices in industries with relatively few competitors would not still cause dislocation. There are many causes of prices that are too high besides monopoly proper.

And the further question remains whether this analysis, however sound it may be as far as it goes, really includes the major causes of depression. Fluctuations of investment in durable goods, which constitute the most marked feature of the business cycle, may be explained in other ways than merely by price maladjustments. One is a lack of balance between the growth of consumers' purchasing power and the growth of productive effectiveness; another is a tendency of new developments to go in jumps, regardless of the price system. There is more justice in blaming monopoly prices for the depression than in blaming the government, but it will not do to stop here if what we want is really to abolish unemployment.

The Purge Goes On

DAY BY day, the Russian purge goes on. No one knows how many persons have been executed or imprisoned during the past eighteen months; some estimates run into the thousands. We do know, however, that nearly every member of the group that made the Russian revolution is gone; that the diplomatic service has lost many of its most experienced members—so many that important posts are now going to totally green men. Eight of the army's top men have been liquidated. So have the presidents or other chief officials of several republics. All the chief aides of the Commissar of Defense are gone; the same is true of four out of the five chief aides of the Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Diplomats recently executed or imprisoned include the Ambassadors to Germany and Poland, the Ministers to Latvia and Lithuania, and the Ambassador to Turkey, Lev Karakhan, once Soviet Ambassador to China and Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Seven other "Old Bolsheviks" have been "liquidated" in recent weeks—most of them men of first importance, some numbered among Stalin's oldest and closest friends. They include Avel Yenukidze, former Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party; M. D. Orakhelashvily, once Vice Commissar for Education, and V. P. Larin, former member of the Central Executive Committee.

There is no reason to believe that the masses of the Russian people have been seriously disturbed by recent events. All available evidence suggests that they continue to go about their business, with their confidence in, and loyalty to, the present regime undiminished. There has, however, been a serious disturbance of the morale in the higher ranks of officialdom. Numerous witnesses report that there is widespread reluctance to give orders, or otherwise assume responsibility, and that this has had a harmful effect upon production and other aspects of the national economy.

The press of the world is now filled with efforts to explain these extraordinary developments, unparalleled in all modern history. Two explanations are commonly offered, and presented as alternatives to each other. The first of these is that the chief leaders in Russia—or perhaps Stalin alone—have in fact succumbed to fear, and are removing one by one every individual suspected of opposing them even though no real treachery is involved. The alternative theory is that an amazingly large number of able and prominent persons are in fact in such bitter opposition to the government for one reason or another that they are plotting against it, either with enemies at home or abroad, or both. These theories, however, are not necessarily antithetical. It is quite possible that a purge that begins by discovering actual traitors may gain momentum of its own and go too far—especially in an atmosphere of threatening war. We see no reason at present for

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modifying the opinion we have expressed on several previous occasions, that it is impossible for persons at this distance from Russia to say with authority what is going on there. It is possible, however, to note that whichever of the hypotheses cited above is correct, the purge in itself is a major disaster, particularly at this moment in world history when Soviet Russia confronts the Fascists in the East and West.

The Labor Spy

THE Senate Civil Liberties Committee has now made public the first of several reports on its findings. This one deals with espionage in industry and is a document of the greatest importance. Nothing in it will prove particularly new to our readers, but it is of extreme value to have the facts collected so thoroughly, with such solid documentation, and published with the prestige of a Senate committee behind them. The material presented constitutes an extraordinary revelation of undesirable practices on such a vast scale that, as the report says, the names of the participants constitute a "blue book of American industry."

Some daily newspapers, never very friendly to this Senate committee, have made a great point of publishing denials by various firms that their names are properly included in the list. It is possible that in a small number of cases, an injustice has been done. The Committee's work covered 2,500 business firms, large and small, and included not only those engaged in anti-union activities but those hiring detectives for other routine purposes. A few names, apparently, were mistakenly transferred from the second category to the first. In the overwhelming majority of instances, however, the Civil Liberties Committee is entirely correct. Some of the heads of firms who now assert their innocence may have actually forgotten that they employed spies on labor. Others, to put it bluntly, are lying about it.

As for what the Committee found out, it can only be summarized here. One after another, America's greatest industrial organizations are revealed as having spent vast sums to spy upon their own workers and, through hired traitors, to wreck their efforts to organize unions. Some of these spies attained important positions in the unions whose secrets they betrayed. The Pinkerton agency alone employed 100 union officers, including one national vice-president, fourteen presidents of locals, eight vice-presidents of locals, and so on.

The detective agencies who employ these labor spies habitually raise a "Red scare," seeking to identify all labor with extreme radicalism. They admitted on the witness stand that there is hardly ever any truth in these charges, but explained coolly that they helped to make public opinion anti-union.

The presence of spies in any labor group usually becomes known to its members before very long, and is, for obvious reasons, damaging in the last degree to morale. Suspicion is cast upon everyone and effective, concerted action is almost impossible. The Committee's report contains a vivid picture of the almost hopeless task of reviving a union that has been destroyed through the use of spies. In one case that is described, the first organizing meetings had to be held in absolute darkness, so that the participants could not be identified if spies were present.

While espionage is harmful to labor, it is hardly any less so, in the long run, to the employer. The report tells how, having employed one set of secret agents, corporations find it necessary to employ another and sometimes even a third, to spy upon the spies. In many cases, these hired traitors sell to competitors the industrial secrets of their employer. Sometimes, they assume a startling degree of control of the firm that has been unwise enough to open their Pandora's box. As might be expected, these spies are shameless in their activities. During the General Motors strike, it will be remembered, they spied upon Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, who was acting on behalf of the government in the effort to bring the strike to an end.

The Senate investigation has already accomplished a great deal, and has justified the statement that the Civil Liberties Committee is second only to the National Labor Relations Board—if that—as an instrument for the protection of labor. It was admitted freely on the witness stand that industrial espionage cannot stand the light of day. Men who have been publicly identified as engaged in such work find their occupations gone; some of the large corporations supplying spies have suspended operation, after the Committee had probed their business. But only a beginning has been made. As the report says, "The public cannot afford to let this challenge presented by industrial espionage go unnoticed. Through it private corporations dominate their employees, deny them their constitutional rights, promote disorder and disharmony and even set at naught the powers of the government itself."

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Automobiles of 1938

THE MERCHANDISING of automobiles is almost as closely tied up with style fluctuations as are women's shoes. Little change is made in the structure or relative position of basic parts—but it would be fatal to advertising campaigns and the sales of new cars (or women's shoes) if the outward appearance of the latest models reflected only fundamental technical improvements. Two factors will be noted by the cautious observing buyer of 1938 automobiles—the rise in prices and the tendency away from the conventional method of shifting gears.

Prices have been raised 10 to 15 percent over last year. There is a growing conviction that car prices are too high. Even before the price increase for 1938 cars was announced, Representative Gardner Withrow of Wisconsin had introduced a resolution in the House directing the Federal Trade Commission to investigate the causes "for the high prices of automobiles and their accessories." This move and the unionization of labor in the industry has made auto manufacturers decidedly jittery. Representative Withrow's resolution was endorsed by Mr. Lied, president of the National Automobile Dealers' Association. The Association reports that in 1935 only 5.31 percent of the 1,200 dealers in the United States managed to earn the "standard" 5-percent net profit, while 17.03 percent lost money. With the severe slump in automobile sales in recent weeks and the growing consumer agitation for lower prices, it is not unlikely that car prices will have to go back to where they were before the auto show last November if sales are to stay up.

In 1936 the American public paid over a sixth of the national income for its motor vehicles and the materials and services to keep them in operation. The bill amounted to $10,020,000,000, *excluding* amounts paid for drivers' and vehicle licenses. Although three out of five motorists have never bought a new car, at least one automobile is owned by 54 percent of the families. Something over 70 percent of the 30,000,000 registered cars are owned by families with incomes of $1,500 or less; the average car owner earns only $25 to $30 a week. Little wonder he must buy a second-hand car. A new car costing $750 delivered (about the range of the lowest price of the cars in the "all three" group) is not "low-priced" for the average worker.

Two trends in the purchase of cars were apparent in 1937. One, the movement of buyers to the economy cars, Ford 60 and Willys, the other the increase in sales of cars in the $1,000 to $1,500 price class, La Salle and Lincoln Zephyr being outstanding examples.

There was a substantial demand for economy cars in 1937, the Ford V8-60 representing something like 25 percent of all Ford sales, which amounted to 628,919 for the first eight months of 1937. Sales of the four-cylinder Willys jumped from 8,770 in the first eight months of 1936 to 39,963 in the same period of 1937. This gives the lie to those automobile sales executives who have insisted that the American public does not want small, economical cars.

General Motors lost some 5.4 percent of its total automobile sales for the first eight months of 1937 over the same period in 1936, the loss of 20.9 percent on the Chevrolet offsetting gains in some other makes. In the same period the sale of Fords increased 12.9 percent. In my opinion General Motors has made the mistake of putting its major design and advertising emphasis on power and luxury for its only low-priced car, the Chevrolet. This was done in spite of the evidence obtained by its own "customer research," that the primary interest of automobile owners was in economy.

As for the mechanical innovations in 1938 cars, the gear-shifting lever has been mounted on the steering post in several makes. A few others are offering automatic or semi-automatic gear-shifting mechanisms as optional equipment. Engines are substantially the same, with a tendency to decrease the extreme compression ratios of the last year. Additional cars have adopted hypoid gears. The Graham, Lincoln Zephyr and models of the Buick and Cadillac are now so equipped, thereby making it possible to lower the floor without resorting to a tunnel. Obsolescence—the watchword of the industry—demands changes where they can be seen. Grilles, body contours, finish are therefore different, but hardly represent improvements. The Graham is the outstanding example this season of a conventional car dressed up in a new and racy style.

The Ford, Chevrolet and Plymouth continue to represent the bulk of the automobiles sold—64 percent in 1936. The Ford has capitulated to class distinction and is now offered in De Luxe and Standard bodies. Either the 85 or 60 horse-power engine may be had with the Standard, while the De Luxe is powered only with the 85 horse-power engine. The De Luxe has a distinctive hood and grilles so it will not be mistaken for its less stylish and less expensive (by $60) sister. The Ford and the Lincoln V12 retain the conventional spiral rear-axle gear, while the Lincoln Zephyr, the sport car of the Ford line, is now equipped with a hypoid gear with its additional lubricating problems. The industry insists that little difficulty was experienced with hypoid gears during 1937. There is evidence, however, that special lubricating facilities have not been generally available and trouble may develop after the first year or two of service.

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The 1938 Willys has few changes over the models introduced last year. The body has a new drip molding to keep water from dropping down one's neck when the doors are opened. Chassis "improvements" include a lower steering-gear ratio and changes in low and intermediate-gear ratios to increase acceleration in starting and on grades. Road clearance has been increased—an important change for all those who drive occasionally on high-center dirt roads. The Willys, because of its small four-cylinder engine and light weight, will give more economical operation than the Ford 60. The Ford 60, on the other hand, will give somewhat smoother operation and faster acceleration because of its somewhat more powerful eight-cylinder engine. Its taxable horse-power is 21.6 against 15.6 for the Willys. The Ford V8-60 costs $685, the Willys $573 at the factory.

The engineers for Chevrolet corrected the design of the clutch on the old cars. The salesmen picked up the "improvement" and called the new clutch "Tiptoe-matic." The new clutch has one diaphragm spring instead of the nine coil springs of the old clutch, and requires a twenty-five-pound pedal pressure to release it instead of thirty-three pounds. Outside of a roomier body, other changes are minor —round front grilles, horizontal grille bars, "emphasizing the sweep of the hood," "richer" interiors.

Except for some models of the Cadillac, changes in the uni-steel bodies on all other cars in the General Motors line—Pontiac, Oldsmobile, Buick and La Salle—have been insignificant. The most striking feature on the new Oldsmobile is the intricate Bakelite instrument panel. It carries the speedometer in the center and the other instruments in pairs on either side. The entire assembly is mounted on the left side so as to be visible through the wheel. An automatic "self-shifting" transmission is now offered as optional equipment on the eight and six and the Buick "40." Four gear ratios are available through a series of planetary gears combined with a set of sliding direct and reverse gears. The selector lever under the steering wheel has four positions, "reverse," "neutral," "low range" for first and second gears, and "high range" for third and fourth. It is necessary to use the clutch only in starting and, with the selector in "low range," the car moves forward until at about six miles per hour the transmission shifts automatically into second. By moving the selector to "high range" at any speed above six miles per hour the shift to third gear can be made without disengaging the clutch and at twenty-three miles per hour or higher, fourth gear is thrown in.

The Pontiac and Cadillac have the gear-shifting lever mounted on the steering column. The lever is shifted in the conventional way except that the motion is in a vertical plane. A mechanical linkage system connects the lever with the gear box.

The Buick has adopted coil springs in the rear with the conventional axle. Each rear spring rests on a bracket extending rearward from the axle tube while the top of the spring supports the frame side rail. The springs carry no transverse load, a torque tube and cross-link construction keeping the rear axle and wheels aligned. Buick engineers claim that the new suspension gives all of the desirable features of rear independent springing without its mechanical complications and disadvantages.

To increase the compression ratio without introducing trouble from knocking, the Buick engine has been equipped with "turbulator" pistons with special dome heads. The "40" engine now develops 107 horse power and the "60," "80" and "90" develop 141 horse power, an increase of 7 and 11 horse power over 1937.

The front ends of all cars in the Chrysler line—Plymouth, Dodge, De Soto, Chrysler—have been treated to alter their appearance, but mechanical specifications are substantially identical with last year's cars. Such features as "floating power," all-steel bodies, hydraulic brakes, hypoid rear axles and rubber-suspended body mounting are continued. Emphasis is still placed on the "safety-interior" features. The gear-shifting lever is of conventional design.

Nash tried to upset a rather uneventful season in auto gadgetry by announcing an "air-conditioning" system for winter driving. The "air-conditioning" system consists of an air filter, a motor-driven fan and a hot-water-heating element. Except for the filter and method of removing some of the suspended moisture in air entering through the cowl ventilator, the unit is not substantially different from the ordinary hot-water heater. Heated and filtered air is not "conditioned" air—the air-conditioning industry objects to such a simple definition of the term. Possibly Mr. Nash can be persuaded to include refrigerating and humidifying units in his conditioner. Cars so equipped would then have an additional selling point for summer driving.

The Nash Ambassador "six" and "eight" have more powerful engines with intake and exhaust lines cast in the block. The Evans vacuum gear-shifting system is offered as optional equipment on the Nash as well as the Graham and Studebaker. A small shift lever is located slightly to the right of the steering lever and just below the instrument panel. It can be operated manually should anything happen to the vacuum line or should the engine be dead.

The Hudson and Terraplane are described as the roomiest and most luxurious in the history of the company. At least the front end is less elaborate, with a decided improvement in appearance. Hudson was the first to locate the battery in a ventilated compartment of the cowl, under the hood, a practice now common to several makes. Hudson was the pioneer of remote gear control with its Bendix "electric hand." The device has been given a new name—Selective Automatic Shift. The mechanism operates the clutch and gears through a combination of electric and vacuum controls. Certain im-

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provements have been made which eliminate some of the difficulties experienced with the earlier design. If upon shifting the "finger-tip" lever there should be an abutment of gear teeth, the lever automatically returns to neutral. The automatic-clutch circuit-breaker switch has been improved for smoother shifting and to compensate for clutch-facing wear. The newly designed balanced-vacuum cylinder for clutch operation provides closer control, the former pendulum device having been eliminated.

The new types of gear-shifting mechanism no doubt represent changes that are bound to remain and be improved. Of the automatic or semi-automatic type the Bendix system used on the Hudson is probably more satisfactory and reliable because of its longer period of development. The self-shifting type offered with the Oldsmobile may in time prove to be popular. Many new and inexperienced drivers will welcome the elimination of the shifting "stick."

The Studebaker line retains practically the same mechanical units as in 1937. The President model has been lightened and now weighs about 200 pounds less than formerly. Chassis frames for both the President and the Six have been stiffened and lightened. The "planar" independent front suspension is now standard equipment on all lines. The Fram oil filter has been enlarged and has "eliminated crankcase oil changes except to meet seasonal conditions."

The Packard continues its "Junior" group, the "six" and "eight," formerly known as the "115" and "120," with longer wheelbases. The "Junior" cars now have all-steel bodies with seamless steel tops, and a new rear spring suspension. Engines are basically the same.

And so it goes—the engines and chassis essentially the same as last year and the year before that—new body styling—more luxury—refinements. Redesigning cars from year to year has now reached the stage of refining refinements. Engineers are hard pressed to think up new arrangements of grilles, head lamps, instrument panels to meet the demands of the sales departments for "brand-new" cars. The public has been so conditioned for changes, if only apparent, that if automobiles are to retain any individuality for the purpose of sales appeal, drastic changes must soon be made. Certain developments are in the direction of rear-engined cars—for example, the remote gear-shifting mechanisms and shorter engines are readily adaptable to such a car.

What about durability, safety, economy? Real improvements along these lines would result in a unique product indeed. This year's models offer practically no improvements; some, in fact, with larger engines and decreased visibility, are worse than last year.

Car makers believe that their products continue to run too long, about eight years they estimate. Efforts have been made to legislate old cars off the road. But what are the facts? Owners of old and second-hand cars can vouch for the many costly repairs for thin fenders, inadequate brakes, faulty carburetors, poor finish of exposed metal parts. The Journal of the Society of Automotive Engineers is responsible for the statement that "the average car operates only about 2,100 hours before being relegated to the junk heap; industrial equipment having the same life would last only 262.5 days on an eight-hour-day schedule." The machines which make the cars will last eight or ten times as long as the products they turn out!

While the automobile industry forms its "safety" committees to aid in the improvement of road conditions, standardize driving laws and safety signals, nothing is done to improve the real safety of its own cars. In a pamphlet entitled "Accidents and Opportunity," released by the Accident Prevention Conference of the United States Department of Commerce, there appears the following statement:

> Most highway fatalities are due to fast or careless driving. To date, most of the efforts of accident-preventing groups, supported largely by automotive-industry funds, have been directed at inducing drivers to drive carefully. Generally speaking, this plan has failed. Motor-accident fatalities have mounted steadily since organized safety work was first started by the National Safety Council in 1913. Particularly have they increased with the development of the high-speed car, which began in about 1925.
>
> Everybody agrees that speed must be controlled. The automotive industry is clinging desperately to the theory that its vast army of salesmen can sell high-speed cars (with emphasis on their power) and then a much smaller group of safety workers can induce owners to drive moderately and carefully. This theory is being rapidly disproved.
>
> There is an insistent demand for a reliable speed control, or governor. Automotive manufacturers say no governor has been designed which cannot be tampered with. Such a device or some plan which would effectively keep speeds within safe limits would meet a great public demand and should pay its designer well. A far from perfect one, used on 20,000 trucks in CCC camps, reduced accidents 50 percent.

Very little progress, the report points out, has been made in recent years in improving automobile lights. A headlight is needed which will penetrate fogs and not blind approaching motorists. Present body designs are also in need of improvement, as they unquestionably lower driver visibility and lead to accidents.

"Do not be discouraged," says the report, "by the oft-repeated statement that cars today are 'made as safe as human ingenuity can make them.' This statement will not bear analysis."

Consumers are demanding new food-and-drug legislation to control the products of viciously indifferent manufacturers. Why should they not demand some control over automobile-manufacturing policies which contributed to the death of 38,500 people last year?

DEWEY H. PALMER.

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This Is Where I Came In

READING the newspapers, the past few days, I have had a nightmare feeling. It is as though I were watching for the second time the early reels of a motion picture whose story ends in tragedy. As I see the actors on the screen make again the same mistakes I have seen before, knowing what the unhappy outcome will be I am sickened by the realization of how history does in fact repeat itself—how literally true it is that we learn nothing from experience.

I remember vividly the days before April, 1917, when a country that did not want to go to war was tricked and bullied and persuaded into doing so. That war was a useless and unholy enterprise; not only this country but the world would have been far better off if we had stayed out of it and permitted the European conflict to end, as it probably would have ended, with a negotiated peace. Today, I see signs that the same sort of pressure is being applied, for reasons which have as little merit, to push us into the Far Eastern struggle. I see a sudden tension where a few weeks ago there was none—a tension wholly unjustified by any events of which I am aware. Old moorings have suddenly been slipped. People are beginning to spout magnificent but meaningless phrases concerning "our national honor." Even more than usual, such phrases are substituted for thinking. Day by day, items fling themselves across the headlines that make me feel some sort of madness is descending upon my familiar solid world.

President Roosevelt says we must not "close our eyes to the fact that we are part of a large world of other nations and peoples." He feels we "owe some measure of coöperation and even leadership in maintaining standards of conduct helpful to the goal of ultimate peace." But no one has suggested, Mr. President, that we should close our eyes to this obvious fact and obligation. No one is opposed to doing what we can in maintaining "standards of conduct helpful to the goal of ultimate peace." But what are those standards? Do we live up to them when we permit Americans to get in front of an advancing Japanese army, remain there for many months, and then, some of them, get killed? Are these standards honored when we insist that Tokyo must—or take the consequences—control the young hotheads in the Japanese army whom the government is plainly unable to control? Do we maintain these standards when we seize this moment of grave tension, general apprehension, to demand a sudden and staggering increase of half a billion dollars in our military establishment, whose efforts to cope properly with the next war are already costing us a billion a year and more?

I admit I am terrified when Alfred M. Landon suddenly emerges from his obscurity to announce that in this deep national crisis he is standing behind President Roosevelt. There isn't any deep national crisis, Mr. Landon; the best way to produce one is for people like you to go around saying that it is here.

I am terrified when Colonel Knox, the fighting newspaper publisher, announces that he too is standing behind the President. Nobody has asked Colonel Knox to stand anywhere at all. No one, so far as I know, has the faintest desire to do so.

It alarms me to see that most of the daily press, having announced in huge black type that ninety-six were killed when the "Panay" sank, printed obscurely with no headlines at all the final fact that the number of Americans who died was three. The death of three men, or even one man, is a tragic happening; but I seem to detect in the editors a desire—unconscious, of course: all our most mischievous desires are unconscious—to leave with the public the original impression, so much more exciting and dramatic, so much better as a basis for jingoism.

I am dismayed when Secretary Hull says that our 7,000 soldiers, sailors and Marines will be kept in China indefinitely and that American citizens will not be asked to leave. The good gray Secretary says that in the Far East we have developed during a century "certain rights, certain interests, certain obligations and certain practices." The government cannot, he says, "suddenly disavow its obligations and responsibilities." Our citizens "cannot suddenly disavow or suddenly cut themselves off from the past." Secretary Hull is talking extremely dangerous nonsense. When he says "the American government cannot" what he means is "I won't." A fair translation of his statement would be: "We have quite a lot of money invested in China. We have already taken the risk of sacrificing some lives in protection of that money, and lost. We propose to continue that gamble, including the danger of getting into a war."

I am perturbed when Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of State, chooses this moment to come forward with a very long letter in The New York Times upholding the right of the President to make war and opposing the plan for a popular referendum in all cases except one of actual invasion. Colonel Stimson, like others, seems to feel a tension in the air, to believe we have suddenly and somehow arrived at a tremendous American crisis. I think, incidentally, that he was less than happy in arguing that the presidential power to make war can safely be left undisturbed because of "the moderation and success" of Presidents McKinley and Wilson in handling the problem of the Spanish-American and World Wars. In the Spanish-Ameri-

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can War, we slaughtered a lot of young Americans for no purpose that will stand exposure to the light of day; McKinley declared war when he had a suppressed Spanish disavowal of the explosion on the "Maine" hidden in his desk. Wilson, elected on a platform of pacifism, declared war one month and three days after his second inauguration. He knew of the secret treaties making peace on a "Wilsonian" basis impossible, yet he said nothing. If these are what Mr. Stimson considers examples of presidential wisdom, what, in the name of God, would he consider presidential folly?

It sends a chill through me when Miss Dorothy Thompson says in her column that "we can either believe in non-resistance or we can believe that peace is a positive—not a negative—thing," and goes on to indicate her desire to see vigorous "action" taken against the fascist powers. It is an old trick of the debater to announce that there are only two alternatives, describing one of them with "smear words" and the other as prettily as possible. But there just isn't any sense in it. We don't have to choose between these two alternatives. Nobody believes in non-resistance, except a tiny handful of religious fanatics. If Miss Thompson insists on our having an "either . . . or," let me pose one: Shall we rush into a war that will destroy many of our young men, ruin us economically and very likely bring a fascist regime to America? Or shall we realistically survey the whole situation and undertake only those things of which we are sure in advance (a) that we can carry them out, (b) that they will have the desired effect and (c) that they will not do ten times as much harm as good?

I am alarmed when Walter Winchell quotes "a big man in Wall Street" as saying the United States will be at war inside of three weeks. I am reasonably sure that the big man in Wall Street knows no more about it than Walter does, or I do. What frightens me out of my boots is the development in the American climate of opinion that permits such a bit of gossip to be idly uttered, cheerfully printed, casually read. Nothing like that could have happened three months ago. No more could we, then, have had the Washington columnists reporting that our belligerence toward Japan, our piling note on note, our demanding fresh apologies while earlier ones still linger in the air—that all these things are a deliberate plan to take popular attention away from the "recession" which, in a few weeks, has recapitulated the whole economic history of 1930 and 1931.

Finally, I am terrified when word comes from the White House after a press conference that the President knows (I paraphrase) that he can count upon the patriotism of the American people to stand behind him in whatever action he takes in this grave hour. When you put it in those terms, Mr. President, the country will always and automatically say Yes. We have been conditioned through lifetimes to make a positive response to such a positive demand. But my point is that no situation exists which requires any such response. It is possible to argue that we ought to take collective action with the "democracies" against the aggressor nations—though even this is a far oversimplified statement of what seems to me a highly dubious course. But what is being said and done in Washington today bears little relation to any such proposal. The flag is being waved as though the past twenty years of world history had never taken place. The challenge that is being hurled is from the United States alone to Japan alone. I am well aware that naval warfare across 6,000 miles of the Pacific is technically very difficult. But I am aware, also, that even if we never invaded Japan, and Japan never invaded us, such a war would be a world calamity. It would, in all human probability, set the match to Europe. It would destroy our democracy and that of every other country, including the socialist regime of Soviet Russia. When it comes to lighting matches in a powder mine, I am an advocate of good, hearty cowardice. I wouldn't even light matches in the doorway. In fact, I would keep well away from the place.

In 1917 there was also that strange tension in the air, that feeling of an approaching storm. Then, as now, we were writing notes to a foreign power that was interfering with the "right" of our citizens to walk in the path of the avalanche. Then, as now, all sorts of queer people popped up announcing that they would never, never desert the President. Then as now, apologies were made and were instantly denounced as unsatisfactory. And so I feel, as I watch the motion picture of events unreeling on the screen of time, that I have seen it all before. This is where I came in. Must I experience the whole drama once again?

BRUCE BLIVEN.

Bounding Line

Silver rubs rocks and furs the twig.
All that was little is still and big.
Attention folds and stoops
To the snail, to slants and loops—
Thread of spider arrayed on the fern.

I am frost's fleck, the grain,
The fissure, the dented vein.
Here looks the insect's eye
Against lens to magnify
The stuff of frost and chill-burn.

Large swells the hoist of shade;
Infinity far overhead.
I am frost, the rim made of shine
On the twig, mercurial line
To cut the small from the big.

Small is good, rests on the ground.
Small's to be seen, small has bound;
In shape like crystal cut.
Crystal-frost lies white in the rut.
Crystal-frost rubs gaudy the twig.

GENEVIEVE TAGGARD.

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What to Do About Taxes: II

IN A CAPITALIST economy such as ours, where unequal distribution of wealth and income are inevitable, it is a commonplace that a substantial proportion of the public revenue should be raised by taxes based on the principle of ability to pay. For this purpose we enacted federal (and state) income and inheritance-tax laws. To date, our federal income and inheritance-tax system, however, has not proved a very effective instrument. It has by no means yielded the revenue that it could or should yield. On the one hand, it has been too generous to the "little fellow" in its rates and exclusions. On the other, it still contains too many loopholes through which the "big fellow's" income escapes tax free. The obstacle to adequate collection of revenue at the lower end of the income scale is political; the obstacles at the upper end are legal and administrative. How can these obstacles be surmounted?

At the outset we should recognize that the "little fellow," of whom we have been so tender under our income-tax law, is not the wage-earner or farmer whose earnings are too low to be taxed on the principle of ability to pay. All those who are likely to be in the income-tax-paying class are a privileged and prosperous group compared to the one-third to one-half of the American population who will never need to worry about paying an income tax even under a much more drastic income-tax system than the one we now have. It should be remembered that the below-the-poverty-line group is now taxed heavily, but indirectly through tariffs and sales taxes. Families with incomes below $2,000 are largely ignored by the income tax, with its $2,500 exemption for husband and wife, but this group makes 60 percent of the commodity purchases of the country, and thus probably pays a corresponding proportion of the sales taxes.

Tax Consciousness.—Persons of moderate income are treated generously under our income tax not because they lack ability to pay, but because there are so many of them, and because they resent direct taxes (except those which the other fellow has to pay); and because they will, or so it is thought, punish at the polls any administration that imposes additional direct-tax burdens upon them.

Additional direct taxes descend upon the taxpayer in a new or increased bill arriving once a year. He may have been warned what to expect, but nevertheless, he is surprised and shocked. Very often he becomes about as conscious of and feels about as kindly toward these new taxes as he would toward a boil on the end of his nose. Were the same amount of additional revenue collected through some form of indirect consumption tax he might resent the levy, but it would certainly be less keenly and painfully brought to his attention.

The present administration might expect no serious political repercussions from a tax program which confines itself to higher taxes upon people whose incomes are more than $10,000. In the first place, there are not many such people, relatively speaking, and in the second place, for the most part they are opposed to the present administration. It is a very different matter with taxes that strike below the $10,000 level.

The British have taken the edge off their direct income tax, as it applies to the smaller incomes, through what is known as collection at the source. By this is meant that the tax is collected from the payers of income rather than the payees—from employers, debtors and tenants, rather than employees, creditors and landlords. The collection-at-the-source system involves automatic instalment payment. It upsets no one's budget because the income that is diverted to the government was never received or anticipated. The system involves many difficulties of its own. But if the net income tax is to be made an outstanding member of our tax system, as seems desirable, and if it is to reach more people and impose heavier burdens, the government might well consider this European administrative device for adaptation to our own use.

High Bracket Taxes Ineffective.—On the other end of the scale, in the high brackets, the limits to direct taxation are of a different sort. Here the main problem is one of successful administration. People in the higher income brackets can be expected to offer political opposition. But the victims are fewer in number, and as Heywood Broun says, who ever heard of an indignation meeting on a street corner because of the taxes some "plutocrat" has to pay. But if a steeply graduated income tax on the higher brackets of income in a highly developed capitalistic economy has few political difficulties and is easy to defend morally and economically, its collection is quite another matter.

The income tax in the United States has been featured by the interesting game called loopholes. The point of the game is for one side to discover, retain and utilize as many loopholes as possible, and for the other side to defeat all of these maneuvers. The stakes are very substantial and the game is played with skill and enthusiasm. The offense appears to have the advantage in several important respects: it commands the high-moneyed players, many of whom have been recruited from the ranks of its opponents; the income-tax field offers many opportunities for the loophole seekers; the defense is forbidden by the rules (embodied in the Constitution

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and enforced by an umpire called the Supreme Court) from using certain instruments and materials which would very greatly improve its game.

The defense made a strong rally in 1934 (following the investigations of a Senate committee) and appeared to the spectators to have the opposition well in hand. In the income-tax law of 1934, capital losses were made deductible only against capital gains, personal holding companies were subjected to high special-tax burdens, consolidated returns were strictly circumscribed and capital losses on exchanges between close relatives were disallowed. In 1936 the undistributed-profits tax was added. The spectators were about to settle back in their seats satisfied that the game was won when their attention was suddenly called, in 1937, to some new spectacular successes by the offense. New strategies had been developed and it appeared that some of the old ones were still effective.

Foreign Personal Holding Companies.—It was not very reassuring to the average citizen to learn that all a substitute person had to do under existing laws to avoid most of the taxes he would otherwise have to pay on the interest and dividends he received was to incorporate a personal holding company in the Bahama Islands. Under this arrangement he could escape the high personal surtaxes and pay a relatively low flat rate on the corporate income. That this gap in the tax laws was not overlooked by the large taxpayer is apparent from the testimony of Treasury officials at recent congressional hearings. They described two shacks in Nassau, in the Bahamas, on which appeared the names of a great number of American corporations representing several hundred millions of American capital. Some 60,000 inhabitants of the Islands, mostly Negroes, and poverty stricken, surveyed this rapid corporate development of their native land with no little curiosity and amazement.

Returning for a moment to our analogy, it appeared to the average spectator that somebody on the defense had been caught napping and that a very obvious hole had been left unguarded. The recent 1937 statute provides that when a personal holding company (as defined) is created by resident Americans and incorporated abroad, it shall be disregarded for income-tax purposes; that is, its incomes shall be included in the accounts of the people who own it. This should put a stop to the Bahama scandal, but the spectators are in a mood to wonder what will happen next.

The most impressive thing about loopholes is that most of them are a variation of one central theme, namely the creation of fictitious legal entities to perform what might otherwise be done personally by an individual. The law has recognized the corporation and the trust as entities independent in most respects from the persons who are interested in them. This offers great personal and social conveniences, but in taxation it raises no end of havoc and makes the application of high graduated rates to the real "acquisition of economic power" by individuals exceedingly difficult, to say the least.

Multiple Trusts.—A taxpayer may create a trust for the benefit of his minor child, the income therefrom to accumulate within the trust until some future date. The income is not legally part of the father's income, for he has irrevocably parted with all legal claim to it. On the other hand, the income does not legally belong to the child. Legally it is the trust's income, and accordingly the tax law included trusts among those required to pay taxes. But if it is legally possible to create one trust for the benefit of a child, then it is legally possible to create one hundred separate trusts. Until recently (1937) this would involve one hundred personal exemptions from income tax. It still involves splitting a large income one hundred different ways in the face of a graduated income tax. Thus a man receiving and saving $1,000,000 a year from investments can divide himself like an ameba into one hundred taxpayers, each receiving $10,000. Until the new law, each one of the hundred taxpayers was allowed $1,000 personal credit (for family needs?) and in addition, all of the taxable income was crowded into the lower income brackets.

The Treasury suggested at the recent hearings that the law require that such trusts (with a common donor and beneficiary) be consolidated for tax purposes. Going further, it would seem no more than fair that income of all trusts created by a common donor for the benefit of his immediate family (husband, wife and dependent children) should be consolidated with the income on his own personal return. However, the Supreme Court might have something to say about such measures.

Domestic Personal Holding Companies.—The use of the domestic corporation to act as an intermediary between a person and his ultimate investments, and to receive and reinvest much of his dividends, interest and capital gains is an old loophole, and one that is exceedingly difficult to stop. The law now provides that when a corporation has 50 percent or more of its stock owned directly, or indirectly, by not more than five persons and when 80 percent or more of its income is from investments, it is a "personal holding company" and is singled out for especially heavy taxation. Rents are included in the 80 percent unless they constitute more than half of the total income of the company. This appears to be an effective stopper, but involves elaborate definitions and details which may provide further opportunities for the loophole hunters.

Cases occur where a person incorporates not his investment, but his recreational function, his yacht, for instance. The yacht is rapidly becoming the symbol of income-tax evasion. Not long ago J. P. Morgan was able to buy a magnificent one in a year when he had no income (according to the income-tax returns), and now others are trying to own one without any personal expense (for income-tax pur-

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poses). The yacht may be incorporated along with certain investments, income from which may be used to pay the expenses of operating the yacht, which in turn is rented out to the taxpayer at a nominal sum and a heavy loss to the corporation. One case cited in the recent testimony was that of a wealthy woman who incorporated a hobby and employed her husband as manager, thus supplying him with pocket money and claiming a deduction for the outlay. Very likely these fictitious arrangements never produced legally deductible losses, but they can be disguised to a greater or lesser degree, thus creating a very difficult administrative task for the government.

Another variation of somewhat the same theme occurs when a famous artist incorporates his talents and receives only such personal income as he chooses to let pass through the corporation. This type of corporation was classed with the personal holding company by the 1937 law and subjected to severe special rates of tax.

Tax-Exempt Securities.—These loopholes have been called dramatically to public attention and several of them have been, and the others probably will be, mended so far as is possible without a drastic revision of the status of corporations and trusts under the law. Meanwhile it should be observed that there are other loopholes of longer standing which are overripe for attention. One of these is the tax-exempt security and salary loophole which daily grows more intolerable as the volume of governmental functions increases and the graduated feature of the income tax becomes more pronounced. Certainly if we are over the hump, and are scheduled to create no more federal debt for a time, this matter should be placed as number one on the congressional "must list." In any event, it should receive major consideration very soon. The lack of any aggressive administration program to end this long standing and generally admitted evil is, to say the least, very disappointing.

Separate Returns of Husband and Wife.—Another long standing loophole is the privilege of filing separate returns by husband and wife. This practice has been defended recently on the ground that it is in accord with personal taxation and the ability-to-pay principle. The defense, however, ignores entirely the main reason for the joint return, namely that the family is more significant than the individual in measuring ability to pay. This is clearly recognized by the statisticians when they reckon the distribution of income in terms of family income. No one has been observed to offer sympathy (or relief) to the "poor" woman with a four-hundred-dollar income when she happens to be married to a millionaire. This is another matter that is ripe for Congress.

The Supreme Court Enters.—We have suggested that the Supreme Court is a factor in the loophole problem. It was the Supreme Court which built up the doctrine upon which tax-exempt securities have maintained their immunity from taxation. It was the Supreme Court which gave the stockholder immunity from personal taxes upon undistributed corporate income. It was the Supreme Court which developed the immunity from joint taxation of husband and wife. It was the Supreme Court which ruled out administrative devices in inheritance taxation, with the practical result that many transfers from one generation to another are immune from the inheritance tax. Small wonder that the "economic royalists" cling to the Supreme Court like a drowning man to a pole.

It still remains doubtful whether the labor movement, backed by the government and a majority of public opinion, can create and maintain an effective organization in certain of the key industries in the United States. It is equally uncertain whether the government, supported by a majority of public opinion, can really collect the taxes on concentrated wealth which the majority thinks proper. These are parallel and first-rate challenges to our democratic institutions.

We have said nothing about two very important loopholes—the manipulation of capital losses and the reinvestment of corporate earnings (in corporations other than personal holding companies). These are loopholes which Congress has made very valiant efforts to stop. The highly controversial institutions which have developed as a result, and which are now especially threatened, will be discussed in the next and last article of this series. We shall also discuss the excess-profits tax and attempt to summarize a tax program.

The income tax is not nearly so effective a weapon as it should be. It falls between political difficulties that protect the lower brackets and administrative difficulties which protect the higher ones. But it is by far the best known instrument of taxation in a civilized state. And it behooves us to redouble our efforts to improve it. HAROLD M. GROVES.

Prehistoric

Too huge he seems for grace,
clumsily magnificent,
Whom nothing alarms from his unfathomable snorting.

Shudderingly sniffs at last and slowly turns.
Tramples warily on brittle crumbling boulders—
Earth winces under that careful tread.

Sniffs again. One meadowful snort, startling
From ambush the ancestral egret.
Then does not stir. Stands
granite-still.

Whose gentlest lunge will shatter an oak branch,
How serene and glazed his amber stare
Up at those wings, those wings!

JAMES DALY.

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Steel Faces the Depression

PHILIP MURRAY, chairman of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, who has probably the best platform manner of any labor leader in America, faced a thousand delegates assembled in Pittsburgh for the first wage and policy convention of the SWOC and, after a careful analysis of their situation, placed before them the first realistic union program for meeting the crisis of an impending depression.

He first rehearsed the incredible gains of the eighteen months the SWOC has been in action—a drive which hardly got into its stride until after the reëlection of President Roosevelt. Four-fifths of the steel industry is under contract, meaning that 445 steel-manufacturing and fabricating concerns, with approximately 550,000 workers, have signed agreements with the union. Through these contracts the forty-hour week, five-day minimum wage, seniority provisions, machinery for grievance adjustment and vacations with pay have been gained. The daily wage increase has been from $1.25 to $3.20, a total of $200,000,000 for the industry. Between 8,000 and 10,000 steel workers have been elected to various lodge offices and there are 1,080 new local lodges, 27 of them in Canada. On the political front in Pennsylvania seventeen burgesses and mayors and forty-four other officials have been elected from the ranks of the SWOC and other CIO unions. He could also say: "In not one instance has any officer, national, subregional or lodge, ever authorized or fostered a strike in a mill under contract. Observe your contract and your union grows. Violate it and your union dies."

Murray went on to say:

> I believe it is well to take inventory during this convention and realize our task is only begun. These accomplishments. and the attendant political liberty established in steel towns, *do not make a union, as you and I understand it.* They merely constitute the base upon which we are now ready to construct the impregnable structure of an industrial union. From now on our task is one of consolidating our gains of the past eighteen months.

The delegates listened with close attention, for in spite of their twenty-minute cheering of John L. Lewis and their weaving procession around the hall, there was an underlying spirit of grimness at the convention, for in Pittsburgh among steel workers the old depression atmosphere hits one in the face. One-fourth of the workers who come under the SWOC are idle. More than half the workers are on part time. The production index has dropped like a plummet from 85 percent of capacity to 50 percent, and John L. Lewis and Philip Murray both pointed out that there is every indication that there will be no upturn before spring. Not only that, but tremendous technological unemployment is facing the industry. Next year a wholesale dismantling of the old-type mills begins and for them will be substituted the hot-strip mills which can roll one-third of a mile of hot strip a minute. When, three years from now, the program for the substitution of this new process is completed, 15,000 strip-mill workers will be doing the work of 100,000 sheet, bar, heavy-plate sheet and back-plate workers. In other words, of the 125,000 men normally employed in these types of work, only 25,000 will remain.

These facts are spread out before the grimly attentive steel workers. This realistic analysis of a situation of unemployment is an innovation in unionism. It is even more of an innovation that there should be a program with which to combat the rising tide of unemployment.

"A great national industrial union like ours cannot stand by and watch every fourth member thrown into idleness," cries Philip Murray. "Each worker has a right to a job and must be guaranteed security of employment."

The chief feature of the program for combating unemployment is strikingly like that proposed in an article by George Soule in a recent number of The New Republic. The SWOC suggests a five-billion-dollar authorization to the United States Housing Authority to lend money to local housing authorities to construct low-cost houses. The sum is estimated as adequate to build a million houses, or about a third of those which the country needs during the next three years. This program would be financed from the surplus of the social-security tax. A local program of action was proposed so that each local may uphold this program. In this way, each lodge becomes a committee for the unemployed membership.

The four-point legislative program agreed on at the October Conference of the CIO in Atlantic City was reiterated here before the SWOC Convention. (1) Licensing of all business enterprises in interstate commerce, the license to contain a code protecting the rights of labor; (2) federal wages-and-hours legislation for minimum hours and maximum wages; (3) appropriation of sufficient funds to continue the WPA for the purpose of assuring every worker a job; (4) extension of social-security legislation.

The convention voted to leave the matter of renewal of contracts which will expire February 28, 1938, entirely in the hands of the executive officers of the Scale Committee.

It is unlikely that anything will come of these realistic proposals. Yet again the CIO is pioneering in trying to grapple with a national catastrophe.

Pittsburgh. MARY HEATON VORSE.

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Company in the Doghouse

MR. WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE calls himself a neolithic liberal. Perhaps we of the New Deal generation are but Bronze Age men. Their panacea was regulation; ours lies in "purchasing power." Their failure is mirrored in the fable of Proteus; ours may be foreshadowed in the story of Sisyphus. They went forth to grapple with big business by regulatory commission. No sooner had they gripped the demon in one form than he was loose in another; there were ten new disguises for every new regulatory device. We had a simpler solution: the lion of profit and the lamb of need would lie down together if only we increased mass purchasing power. But each time we pushed purchasing power up a little by means of higher wages and relief expenditures, it fell back twice as far under the weight of higher prices and profits. We stemmed vaguely from Mr. Keynes; he taught us to believe that public works are a form of perpetual motion, that the parallel lines of production for use and production for profit can be made to meet in a Central Bank, and that faith will move the mountains of deficit; a new generation from the hills sneers that this is neo-Euclidean economics. We may be on our way to the doghouse, too.

Part of the complaint of Emporia is due to intellectual arterio-sclerosis. Mr. White's horror over the sitdown strike and the CIO springs from the distaste for novelty that comes with advancing years, and lowered resistance to propaganda. But though Mr. White has grown more conservative, his language is more subversive:

> The police club, tear gas, the machine gun appeared just about as quickly after the cellophane-encased revolution of November, 1936, as these middle-class first aids to law and order would have appeared with Landon in the White House. . . . If you appeal to the ballot box, the esteemed M. C. (Middle Class) has a majority. If you appeal to the machine gun, Democratic Mayor Kelly of Chicago has a machine gun and so have Roosevelt's two little altar boys, the Democratic Governors of Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Has Mr. White been reading K—l M—x?

Mr. White's intimations of Marxism trail clouds of glory left behind by the Bull Moose campaign of 1912. When he sets out to provide an apologia for progressivism, he talks like a prairie Hamlet, and when he is through one does not know whether Mr. White would have Mr. John D. M. Hamilton hie him to a nunnery or breed more GOP sinners. He descends to petulance and clutches at straws:

> All right, suppose our tactics erected a treadmill getting nowhere, just about keeping up with the aggressions of a growing class-conscious plutocracy. But the net gain of a neolithic liberalism was a keen sense of the plutocracy in the heart of the middle class.

This, from one who linked arms with the Liberty League. What evidence is there of "a keen sense of the plutocracy in the heart of the middle class"? Big business and finance have been pushing the middle class to the wall for two generations. Neolithic liberalism exposed the process: supposed remedies were put on the statute books. The results were negligible. The middle class is continually losing its shirt on the chute-the-chute of inflationary booms and deflationary depressions, but it never harbors a grudge or develops a philosophy. Monopolists talk of the sanctity of competition; trusts preach the value of individual initiative; corporations as unwieldy as the behemoth talk of the energizing value of private enterprise—the middle class falls for them hook, line and sinker. It regards its friends, liberals of the Brandeis type, as little better than Reds; its enemy, the concentrated money power, as its benefactor.

Our task may have been Sisyphean, but we were closer to the heart of the problem than the pre-war progressives. If mass purchasing power is to be increased and maintained, labor must be organized; we brought support to the labor movement from the middle class. The reforms of the Roosevelt era may prove to be duds; the new regulatory mechanisms may turn out to be as ineffective as those of the pre-war period. One thing the New Deal will leave behind it: a strengthened trade-union movement, the basis of a real bulwark against fascism and a real check on the power of concentrated capital. Even there the weaknesses of the middle class have been apparent: Section 7a was rapidly interpreted into a nullity; the old NIRA crumpled up every time it became necessary to enforce it; the Brain Trust preached collective bargaining but took to bed with chills when it looked as though labor were getting somewhere; when the Chicago police shot strikers in the back the answer of the press was to assail labor for violence; when Tom Girdler said "boo," St. George abandoned the maiden and the dragon with a plague o' both your houses. Yet progress has been made, though others may have to carry on where the New Deal leaves off.

We barricade ourselves and Mr. White against despair with the thought that history is less logical than man; cuts its own patterns; picks its own instruments; eludes our formulas; is perverse, eccentric, whimsical. Sometimes it leaps: the French Revolution was a bloody affair; it drove Burke and Wordsworth into the camp of reaction as the excesses of the Russian Revolution have driven many to the Right in our own time; they could not see the forest for the shambles; today no one but the Fascists denies the progress made in 1789. Sometimes history creeps (and this is where we come in): the process by which oligarchy became democracy in England went at a tortoise pace; the Reform Act of 1832 seemed puny and deceitful to the revolutionist, and so it was; yet England did move. One never can tell. This hope is but a crumb on which to feed self-esteem, but we bring it with us to the doghouse, and invite Mr. White to dine.

I. F. STONE.

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Shoot the Works

The Generals Are in Again—Hugh Johnson, Mighty in Ballyhoo but Weak in Action —Cracking Down Only to Ease Up

GENERALS seem to be moving back again into favor. For a time it was noised about that they died in bed, which was held to be reprehensible. The myth of the strong man is upon us at the moment and there is praise for Napoleon, Genghis Khan, Hannibal, Julius Caesar, Ludendorff and Hugh S. Johnson.

To be sure, some of the kind words for the generals come from the generals themselves. Two of the military men mentioned are known for their commentaries as well as their exploits in the field. Indeed Caesar's fame today rests chiefly on the fact that he divided Gaul into three parts, while Johnson is best remembered as the broadcaster for a headache remedy and the author of a syndicated column.

With soldierly gallantry the flaming tinman paid tribute within a single week to both Pershing and Ludendorff, who vied with each other in battle. Of the books of the German leader, Johnson says, "A professional soldier must read them with awe." But he is not disposed to limit the admiring circle solely to brother officers. The chronicles of the Teuton war lord are "so lean and clear that any layman can get as plain a picture as any expert of the philosophy." The opinion is recorded that, "Like Napoleon, also, Ludendorff was a great organizer and civil administrator."

No man need bob up to say, "Why don't you speak for yourself, Hugh?" for the General has done so on many occasions both in print and over the air. Distinctly there is the suggestion that in a troubled time America needs the services of a great cavalryman who could bring to our national problems the human sympathy of Ludendorff, the tact of Pershing and the social vision of Genghis Khan. Nevertheless, there are certain things to be said for General Johnson which he himself has omitted. The other night at a party I told a group of newspapermen and leaders of public opinion that I was planning to pick an All-America Stuffed-Shirt team and that I wanted some advice and counsel in the matter of selection. Expecting no argument at all I casually hazarded the opinion that naturally Nicholas Murray Butler, Sinclair Lewis and Hugh S. Johnson deserved places on the eleven.

There was no particular objection to the first two names but the company argued General Johnson right out of his preferment. My own words were used against me. A certain Mr. S., who has the memory of an elephant, was able to quote with only a few minor errors things I had written about Johnson when he was the head man of the NRA. And I was forced to confess that like Paul Y. Anderson, and several other reporters more waywise than myself, I had bowed in admiration of the lost leader who once enthralled us all by his ability to get there firstest with the mostest adjectives.

And even now, when the cream has soured in the pantry of the keeper of dead cats, I must admit that once upon a time General Hugh S. Johnson was the greatest expert in ballyhoo this land has ever known. And in saying this I have no desire to praise the old warrior with faint damns. The National Recovery Act stood in vital need of having kindled under it a fire that would warm national opinion enough to give the measure a chance. Hugh Johnson did that. Some of his phrases have begun to stale off through constant repetition, but when he first struck Washington he gave the most exciting press conferences within the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

Anderson of The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, who had been viewing with alarm for so many years that his index finger was all but atrophied, began to point with pride. He thought that the General was the final answer to the crusading commentator's prayer. Bob Allen of the Merry-Go-Round column, who has never been known as a sentimentalist, began to become an orchid-tosser. But the General broke down. Like many another gladiator, he left his fight in the gymnasium. It was a thrilling sight to see him punch the heavy bag. His fist would almost split the swinging dummy in twain. "Here's for Henry Ford," Hugh Johnson would say in effect, and it would be a right to the jaw, a left to the belly, and another right and left to the head, so that even admiring bystanders would begin to shout, "Stop the fight. Ease up on him, General. The poor fellow's all cut."

Little did we dream in those days that Hugh S. Johnson was a master easer-upper. He needed nobody's advice or counsel in that art. My particular province was to get the ear of the General in regard to the interests of the American Newspaper Guild. There was a Newspaper Code of sorts, but in spite of the very minor benefits which it conferred on anybody, the ANPA (the owners' union) was loath to agree to anything at all. Then, as now, a great many newspaper publishers insisted that any shortening of hours or raising of wages would interfere with the freedom of the press. Seemingly that sacred right might wither and die save in a sweatshop.

In regard to our protests General Johnson was all fire and brimstone. I was amazed and fascinated by the vigor with which he expressed himself in his office. Indeed he was so forthright in one of his statements as to what he intended to do to the newspaper owners if they refused to play ball with the movement for recovery that I felt it my duty to warn him. "General," I said, "what you propose doing is magnificent. But do you realize that the press of this country can do to a man if all the publishers gang up on him? General, they can crucify you."

He snapped his fingers and, whether it was coincidence or not, a beam of late Washington sunlight played across his rugged countenance so that for the moment he seemed to be one with Horatius at the bridge, Joan of Arc at Orleans and Ajax defying the lightning. "I'm a soldier," he said simply. And to myself I thought, "Just one more dedicated hero going forward to do or die."

It was too much for me. I shook his hand warmly and rushed out to get a drink. I didn't want to break down in the presence of my idol. Of course, I did not know then that sitting in his study Hugh S. Johnson could hit a publisher squarely between the eyes at a range of two and a half miles, but that in the same room he couldn't even brush a fly from the nose of Colonel Bertie McCormick at one and a half paces.

If Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the quarterback of the New Deal, Hugh Johnson was its line plunger. But

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there was just one slight flaw in his technique. Give him the ball and he would move with the utmost fury toward the line of scrimmage, but when he struck it he would straighten up and go down in his tracks. The General has never been a very tough baby to tackle. He's still a good talker, but he doesn't keep his knees high enough. He may admire Genghis Khan but he reminds me more of Otto.

HEYWOOD BROUN.

Washington Notes

Will We Arm to Scare Japan?—Jokers in the Great Armament Policy—President Roosevelt Is the Man to Decide

WASHINGTON spent last week discussing what the administration ought to do when the next "Panay" incident occurs, as one almost certainly will. The mildest proposal is for Mr. Roosevelt to announce a great armament program. This, it is argued, not only would terrify Japan's military rulers into submission, but would be a nice bull point for the stock market. Usually the example of England's rearmament is pointed to, regardless of the fact that the worldwide commodity speculation which it started is to a large degree responsible for our present troubles.

Ordinarily, the suggestion that the United States—protected by two oceans—should join Europe's and Asia's armament race would be too silly to mention. But since the Far Eastern crisis gives it plausibility, it deserves realistic examination. To begin with, what about scaring Japan? The Japanese have nine commissioned capital ships; in order to challenge Japan in her home waters, it is usually estimated that we would need to have about three times the Japanese tonnage, or twenty-seven capital ships instead of our present fifteen. Heavy and light cruisers, destroyers, airplane carriers, would need to be increased in proportion. It would mean an undreamed-of industrial effort on the part of this country, and no expert believes that such a fleet could be built within two, more probably three, years. Who thinks that Japan's Colonel Hashimotos would be stopped by weapons we will have in 1940 or 1941?

The armament advocates, I think, are misled by the fact that both War and Navy Departments are yelling for increased funds. They seem unaware that the generals and admirals are the chief pooh-poohers of armament building on a great scale. The navy obtained authorization for two new battleships in the present fiscal year, and wants authorization for two more next year. Battleships come at $50,000,000 apiece; four of them make $200,000,000, which offhand sounds like militarism gone mad. But—aside from the fact that it is a criminal waste to spend any money whatever on battleships—it is not so bad as it seems. Before the four new ships are ready, in 1940-41, the navy will have to begin scrapping its existing fleet. England is in a similar fix, and if past experience is a guide, we may confidently expect that the United States and England will be ready with a noble offer of partial naval disarmament about 1940-41.

What the armament advocates apparently fail to appreciate, however, is that most American naval experts will resist the speeding-up of the battleship program. Peacetime naval strategy largely depends on waiting out possible rivals. Japan, for example, has authorized three new battleships; once our naval spies ferret out their details, we can build ships to beat them. If we were to construct our new battleships all at once, every other nation could surpass us.

The navy also has a project for ten new cruisers. Here another obstacle rises. If the subsidized merchant marine eagerly hoped for by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy is ever to be built, now is the time to build it. Experts agree, however, that American shipyards lack sufficient capacity to build both cruisers and merchant liners—at least if construction costs are to be kept down.

As far as the army is concerned, the chief plan of the armament advocates is for the immediate purchase of equipment—uniforms, shoes, blankets, toothbrushes—for the so-called "protective army"—the 400,000 men that the War Department expects to mobilize within a few hours of the outbreak of a war. This would cost about $150,000,000. There is also talk of raising the number of the "protective army" to 700,000. Equipment might then cost as much as $400,000,000. But as nearly as I have been able to learn, the army views these schemes with a bilious eye. It will certainly not refuse additional equipment, but it means to pick and choose.

The generals themselves are asking for additional funds for artillery. They want three-inch anti-aircraft guns, and more 105 mm. howitzers. Unofficial estimates put the total cost for new ordnance and small arms of all kinds at perhaps $100,000,000, to be spent slowly.

Lay members of the administration do not seem to be greatly impressed by the artillery program. Next to plans for equipping the "protective army," discussion centers on motorization of the army and a tank program. To this the generals return polite smiles. The army is already more than 60-percent motorized. According to estimates, 7,500 new trucks—a mere gulp for the automobile industry—would do the full job. The army loves its mules, however, and is in no rush to discard them.

Recently the War Department perfected a light tank, capable of forty miles an hour over rough ground, with which it is extremely pleased. In this instance, it has voluntarily put into effect the recommendation of the Senate Munitions Committee that the government make its own arms, and has equipped the Rock Island arsenal for tank manufacture. It would like to build 200 tanks in the next year. They cost about $20,000 apiece, and the total bill would be about $4,000,000.

Both army and navy oppose a great airplane-building program. There is the same feeling about airplanes that there is about battleships. A few years ago, in a burst of martial energy, the French succeeded in constructing 2,000 military planes in a single twelve-month period. According to War Department experts, the entire fleet was obsolescent before the last machine was delivered. The War and Navy Departments hope for about the same number of planes in 1938-39 that they had this year. In this relative abstemiousness, they are backed up by the politically omnipotent airplane-manufacturing companies. The present level of government orders is near the limit of existing

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plant facilities, and the companies shrink from adding new plant that may be idle a year from now. Several companies, moreover, are anxious to reserve space for trans-Atlantic passenger planes.

Given free rein, the War and Navy Departments would spend next year from 20 to 30 percent more than their present budgets—from $200,000,000 to $300,000,000 of new money—not enough to prevent another "Panay" incident, or enough to end the depression. The decision, however, rests with Mr. Roosevelt. If he should decide to spend, it can be taken for granted that the generals and admirals will follow him with disapproving delight, like a group of maiden aunts entering a night club.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

The Landon-Roosevelt War-Game Huddle—But Americans Don't Want War—Is the War Scare a Red Herring?

MR. ALFRED LANDON and President Roosevelt have just gotten together and made up a set of rules for the government of the rest of us as we move into the dangerous game of playing at war-making. The central idea of the Landon-Roosevelt rules is that as soon as this country becomes involved in an international discussion, then the Senate, the House, all of the newspapers and other publications in the country and, of course, the remaining 130,000,000 persons must stop thinking, shut their mouths, leave the whole job to the Executive and "stand by the President."

Of course these two gentlemen have a right to suggest rules for the government of the rest of us. But they have no right to impose them. And as I am one of the 130,000,000 persons who find themselves sitting in at this game, I would like to say right here and now that I, for one, do not propose to be bound by these rules.

Let us see just how good these rules are.

The American people are bitterly opposed to becoming involved in any way in the quarrels of Europe or the quarrels in the Orient. Maybe the American people are wrong about this. But no man who has traveled about this country in the last year can have the slightest doubt that this is so. There is not the slightest doubt that they sympathize with the Chinese, as they did with the Ethiopians, the Belgians, the Boers. But they are almost a unit in believing that it is no part of our duty to police the Mediterranean, the African coast or the China seas, to say nothing of interior rivers of China. No one will doubt that the American people, however misguided they may be, are entitled to hold this view and it will hardly be contested that, in the event they are drawn into war, they will have to pay the bills and make such little contributions of legs and arms and eyes and blood as may be necessary to make the Orient safe for democracy.

In accordance with that popular feeling, the President, at the end of August, called on Americans to quit China. On September 6, aboard the presidential yacht, he told reporters, as reported by The New York Times, that "all the 7,780 Americans in China have been strongly urged to get out and *any who remain after that warning do so at their own risk.*"

It happens, however, that Mr. Roosevelt thinks differently from the American people. He believes that America and the rest of the world should take aggressive action against Japan. He believes that Japan should be "quarantined," and he said so in his "war speech" in Chicago.

According to press reports from Washington, before he delivered that speech he summoned naval experts and inquired as to the ability of the navy to protect American shipping in the Far East (although a month before he had warned Americans out of China). He also asked for a full statement of naval strategy to block Japanese plans in the Orient. The plan of the navy was reported to be for action through the signatories of the Nine Power Treaty, and involved actual blockades of Japan at certain points. He consulted the British on the possibility of united action.

All this is in direct contradiction to the generally held opinion of the American people. And every step taken by the President thus far has been in accordance with this program.

According to Mr. Landon and Mr. Roosevelt, however, the American people must sit still, every voice in America must be silenced, while the President pursues a course in the Orient directly hostile to that of the nation.

The President called on all Americans to get out of China or to remain "at their peril." But of course they did not do so. They remained, not only at their peril, but at the peril of involving 130,000,000 Americans in war. Among those who did not get out was the Standard Oil Company, its employees and vessels. On December 11, three Standard Oil ships were moving in the Yangtze River. They were not out on the high seas. They were on a river in the interior of China. They had a perfect right to be there if they chose to take the chance and to operate "at their peril." But there is a feature of the recent "Panay" bombing that has been singularly overlooked. It is that the American gunboat was convoying the three Standard Oil ships. Can there be any doubt of that? The three Standard Oil boats were moving slowly close to the shore behind the United States gunboat. But we are not left to mere surmise. Mr. Norman Soong, of The New York Times, who was aboard the "Panay," in a dispatch to The Times dated December 17, said: "The Socony tankers 'Meiping,' 'Meihsia' and 'Melan,' which the 'Panay' escorted up the river, were nearby, with seven of the 'Panay's' crew visiting on the 'Meiping,' etc." The same day The New York Times reported, in a dispatch from Washington, that Admiral William D. Leahy, chief of Naval Operations, had visited the White House in connection with the crisis. The Times's report continued: "Upon leaving the White House, Admiral Leahy said that he had given the President a full account of his reports on the bombing of the 'Panay' and *her convoy of three Standard Oil vessels.*"

What was an American war vessel doing convoying Standard Oil vessels which had been ordered out of China and were in the midst of operations of two hostile armies?

I believe that the President is pursuing an aggressive, provocative course directly opposite to that desired by the American people. I believe that if he is permitted to continue he will embroil this country in war. The American Senator or political leader or editor or publicist who be-

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lieves this and refuses to say it is guilty of a crime against his conscience and his country.

Now I want to make a few more statements. I know in advance that no one will believe them. I know that some of my liberal friends will say this is a blow struck in support of the economic royalists. And most others will think it is fantastic. Nevertheless the statements are absolutely true and in good time will become quite obvious.

Statement No. 1: The President is preparing to lead the country into a vast program of armament as a means of spending money to avert another depression—houses for the dogs of war rather than the mutts of peace.

Statement No. 2: He is preparing deliberately to sell to this country a war scare as a prelude to the armament program.

Statement No. 3: He is attempting to shift the psychological reactions of the nation to the patriotic motif in order to distract attention from the disintegrating domestic situation.

Statement No. 4: One reason for this is to build up the attitude embodied in the slogan "Stand by the President"—a trap into which the inept Mr. Landon leaps head first. This is to be the President's chief resistance to the clamor for investigations of his regime which will presently become insistent.

While he does this, then, let every American put his mind in cold storage, button up his lips and commit the fate of this great peaceful nation to the judgment and plans of one man. Mr. Landon may believe that, but I do not.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

The Bache Collection

THE COLLECTION of paintings that Mr. Bache has given to the public is housed with ease and splendor in his own residence, which he presented along with them. The number of pictures, sixty-four, is small enough to be seen with the feeling of satisfaction special to this kind of social, or human, limitation in the sheer quantity of what is shown us. The catalogue strikes a wise middle between the extremes of academic and lay uses, it has certain sources of the pictures, bibliography, descriptive and biographical notes, and a photograph of every picture. The scheme for admission to the exhibition keeps the daily number of visitors down to the proper space and viewing. And the reception—a doubly important item in these smaller museums, where some air of the private and particular is unavoidable—the pervasive tone, the hospitality, shall we say, or shall we say the management, gives the impression of intelligence and gracious distinction.

Since these things are by no means true of many museums, it would seem only fair to begin a note on the Bache Collection with remarking them.

Of the exhibition as a whole you would say that there is, perhaps, no supreme, knock-down-and-drag-out masterpiece by any of the painters represented; but on the other hand there is no trash. There may be a few things that virtually amount to little more than trash, but in such cases the painting is of interest because of the painter and in relation to his traits and tendencies and to his other works. The Gainsborough of "Mrs. William Tennant," for example. No doubt it has its virtues, but its defects fairly titter at you, and do indeed represent an aspect of this painter. The right arm is impossible, as are the knees; the whole body lacks weight, the paint rendering is merely facile, surface and skippy. Compared with the picture of Boucher's daughter, "Le Billet-Doux," by Fragonard—a contemporary—this Gainsborough is shamed. To compare it with the very fine "A Young Woman Reading," by Vermeer—born a hundred years earlier—would be only devastating. On the other hand the two small Fragonard landscapes, painted at Tivoli during an Italian stay, are greatly disappointing, in the light of his sheer facility if nothing else. Considering these Fragonards along with (in the Prado) Velasquez' two canvases, also small, done on the same ground, or with some Cézanne view with trees, will raise far and interesting points.

To say no supreme masterpiece, as I have done, may be misleading. Certainly the full-length Van Dyck (83 x 49 inches) of the Earl of Warwick is, as Van Dyck, one of this painter's best works. Some of the earlier portraits in his Genoa period have a more personal, as it were, refinement, but that doubtless came partly from the sitters there; the execution in this later work is richer—the silver brocade, for example, in the doublet might almost, not quite, be that of the bodice in Ruben's magnificent portrait of himself and his wife. Taking the pictures thus—the painter *per se*—Pater's "The Fair at Bezons" is a notable example; so are the Gerard Terborch "Curiosity," "The Madonna and Child" of Gerard David, Raeburn's "Thomas Miller W.S.," Petrus Christus' "Dionysius the Carthusian" and several others.

Rembrandt's "The Standard Bearer" would, I daresay, be regarded by many people as a great picture. To my taste at least it is insistent beyond the point of genuine distinction. His "Christ with a Pilgrim's Staff" seems to me only subtle emotional banality, not to mention, perhaps, changes in the bituminous mixture used, or at any rate something, by which the values are badly disturbed. There are two good Bellinis around the Madonna theme; and the young-man portrait, so fine and clear, is remarkably convincing. The four Holbeins, if not at his top, are good, especially that of the boy King Edward VI, very frankly and profoundly seen. The two Corneille de Lyon noblemen with cap-feathers are beautiful in his special way. And one of the satisfactions of the museum is the good, honest, Florentine prose of the Ghirlandajo of Francesco Sassetti and his son. Botticelli's "Coronation of the Virgin," without the angelic and celestial trimmings that had been usual to this scene but with only four kneeling figures, represents the grave and academic, perhaps even dogmatic, absorption that brought this artist, loved for his poetic grace and floating allegory, finally into the ranks of Savonarola's *piagnoni*.

It is in the Bache Collection you will see Raphael's famous portrait of Giuliano de Medici, known often by the Bronzino copy of it in the Uffizi. And you will find the delightful Goya of the little Don Osorio de Zuñiga, with his bird cage and pets, beloved in prints, and here placed admirably at the head of the stair. Indeed the only badly placed picture is, strangely enough, one of Titian's: the "Venus and Adonis," which is at least far above the

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middle rank among Titian's works, and represents here and there many of his peculiar felicities.

Some of the paintings—the excellent "Bearded Man with a Ruff," by Frans Hals, or Romney's partially fair "Elizabeth, Countess of Derby," have been overcleaned, sadly scoured till the glaze is damaged, or largely gone, and everything has become harder and shallower. It reminds you of the same excess at the Prado, as contrasted with Berlin galleries, where the restoration instead of not removing them, often successfully returns the glazes if need be.

Among the men portraits in the Bache Collection there are several that, considering the painter, are curiously nervous. Van Dyck's portrait of himself is one, and Titian's "Venetian Nobleman," and Velasquez' portrait of himself. The two last remain, nevertheless, beautiful, especially the Velasquez, in which, we may observe, his admiration for Titian appears. A more inward nervousness and strain is in Rembrandt's "Young Man with a Black Cap"—though here, of course, it might be more likely. A moving and beautiful portrait.

STARK YOUNG.

A Play and a Festival

"A Plant in the Sun" started out as the Theatre Union prize play and was given a performance on a Newspaper Guild benefit. Add this to its flat sub-titular statement ("a one-act play about a sit-down strike"), and the theatrical promise for it becomes thin indeed—that is, if you are one of the dwindling majority that wants slogans restricted to parades and speeches, leaving the drama to be mainly dramatic. Yet "A Plant in the Sun" is one of the most breathless and naturally lovely one-acters ever staged, rapid, tragic and true. Dogma is out: the staccato mounting of fact on fact, the breathless piling of speech, incident and motion on the stage, represent nothing but life recreated, the focus turned up until the image is clear and sharp in the form. It is produced on a shoestring, but directed with such patience and insistent flair for effect and pace that the bareness of a shipping room extends to a bareness of the whole horizon around these people, these quick noisy kids, so young, so rough and harsh as the workingman of their Bronx and Bleecker Street families, so fair. Of them enough cannot be said: the lines and impulses of their written parts are as impeccably true to life and logic as experience itself; their exuberance and bitter passion is so thoroughly felt and projected that questions of what is nature and what is art are lost in a theatre moment. And the girl coming from the sweet insulating security of Vassar was heard to say as she left, But do they really do *that* to . . . I mean a strike and all that but such *nice* kids they were. . . . Oh they can't *beat* them like . . . Do they do that . . . in a strike? I mean, don't you see . . . why, it was *right* what the kids were doing and that horrid man with the penknife, he wouldn't. . . . I mean, *actually* a man wouldn't. . . . But it happened, it . . . Is it like that really, a strike? Those little kids and . . . well, all that, I mean . . . why it's awful. . . .

O. F.

After struggling through its difficult adolescence with no help from anybody, the American dance this fall was plucked from the side streets and set, with fanfare and embellishments, in the lap of Rockefeller Center. Louise Branch, chairman of the Dance International, sent out the first feelers which resulted in a comprehensive survey of all activities in the dance field for a five-week period which began November 29 and attracted record crowds.

The permanent unit was the collection of paintings, sculpture, drawings and photographs on exhibition at the International Building. In the midst of much mediocrity there was work of great merit, especially in sculpture, if you took the trouble to sift it. Two new programs a week of films were also selected, covering everybody from Fred Astaire to the Sahara Desert Tribes and revealing a great deal of recorded material whose existence was unknown.

In addition to lectures and demonstrations by persons eminent in their particular branches of the dance, a series of fifteen programs at the Rainbow Room presented groups of folk dancers from almost every known nation that makes a practice of encouraging the preservation of its folk art. At each 4 o'clock program a different dancer from the theatrical or concert field gave excerpts of his most spectacular technique with the assistance of his group.

As a culmination of the whole enterprise, two performances were given at Center Theatre, one by ballet groups and one by modern groups. The ballet program on December 12 was not so representative as it might have been, because of previous engagements by well known companies. It included Catherine Littlefield's Philadelphia Ballet, the Ballet Caravan, the Dance Center, and also by Patricia Bowman, Paul Draper and Paul Haakon.

The modern program on January 2 is to be comprised of dances by Ruth St. Denis and longer works by Martha Graham, Hanya Holm, Tamiris, Doris Humphrey and Charles Weidman with their concert groups.

PAUL LOVE.

Two New Pictures

ROWLAND BROWN has directed some fine pictures, and his "Devil Is a Sissy" is still vivid in the mind—that was the one he wrote and directed a large part of but got no director's credit because of having blown up on MGM over something before it was finished. Now he has sold a story to Monogram, one of the small independents, and Monogram has produced it with a maximum of care and truth, a minimum of waste and ballyhoo: "Boy of the Streets." It is a story about poor boys, maybe with some ideas from "Dead End," but certainly with more complete information.

Incidentally, every time you get mad at Shirley Temple or Nova Pilbeam and begin to hang it on Hollywood, just remember that nowhere on earth has there been such an almost unbroken and holy tradition of shameful disservice to the truth about children as in the august pastures of Literature itself—not only "Two Little Knights of Kentucky" but Dickens; not only the Fun Loving Rover but "La Fée des Grèves." Outside of "High Wind in Jamaica" and Tarkington and Clemens (maybe a few others, for I've no mind for catalogues), there has been almost a revolution in the plays and pictures of the last few years: "Poil de Carotte" and "Captains Courageous"; "The Children's Hour" and the "Sissy" picture

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and "Dead End"—also "La Maternelle" and "Mädchen. I feel a little strongly about this because I have been kicked around somewhat for being an ogre and not loving the little toddlers enough. Hell, what I don't like is the sloppy sentimentality of grown-ups who fall helpless into a pool of tears at the mere sight of a bassinet, no matter how prettified and false.

Well, Jackie Cooper is nearly grown up. He is running a gang of kids in a tenement neighborhood here, holding meetings and gang fights and of course feeling much more top-heavily solemn and adult about family problems than he has any right. It is mostly the life of kids: the grown-ups play their parts in a background (Matty Fain's gangster is about the best of them). A key figure for the story is the father, an out-of-work ward heeler who has become the boy's idol through his boast of power; and there are some "Juno and the Paycock" attitudes in the family life. But the main story is of Jackie growing up to be a young tough, chance incidents following each other in a naturally haphazard but unmistakable line. It is kid's foolishness at first, petty misdemeanors and hell-raising; but the family budget gets no better, and Jackie goes down one day to see if Jim Farley might be needing another leader. What sets him off here is the sudden true picture of his old man as errand boy, and this is followed by his being picked out as a sharp and valuable youngster by Mr. Joe Racket, just taking over the neighborhood. Jackie tightens up against his father's bombast over the new turn of affairs, drawing himself into manhood almost visibly in his disillusionment and new resolve.

After he has taken up with the racket, he wavers one night in defense of a familiar cop, and gets plugged for it. So the story (it is more like a chapter) ends in his being patched up and leaving with the fleet as an apprentice seaman—not a solution so much as a logical stage in his social development.

If some of the situations are banal, you have forgotten it presently, because Rowland Brown, William Nigh (director) and Jackie Cooper have among them furnished a hundred of those moments when some homely truth about people becomes vivid in action. It is not the surface of children that you have here, their little pomps, pouts and cute ways: it is something of growth, something of universal life in a local habitation, stunted or made to flower by virtue of its attendant circumstances. It is a modest little picture, true to its purpose and at times beautiful.

For contrast take Paramount's "Wells Fargo," which is about the place in American history of a legendary express service, but much more about love and Joel McCrea. It covers decades, it must have cost nearly two million; it has authentic stage coaches, miners' equipment and gold-rush saloons; it has the biggest set Paramount ever made, streets, covered wagons and the Civil War. And if it had been just that, no matter how rousing a jingo, it would have been something—for its research is endless, its material fascinating. But history is not enough, and so over everything we must have the false uninteresting life and love of Joel McCrea. Outside of Porter Hall, Bob Burns and an occasional et cetera, this one is ham from the word go. It runs two hours, by the end of which time it is firmly settled as the towering bore of the season.

OTIS FERGUSON.

The Bandwagon

Los Angeles staged another novelty in combinations when it conducted a Sunday-school session on the floor of the local stock exchange. Businessmen, bankers and stockbrokers took part in the service. . . . The precedent is a good one. More religion and less government in business is not a bad slogan.—*From an item in The Los Angeles, Calif., Times.*

Telling a policeman he can "go to hell" is "a simple declaration of fact," Magistrate Rudich ruled in Pennsylvania Avenue court, Brooklyn, yesterday in dismissing a charge of disorderly conduct. . . . "Miss Greenberg's remark wasn't a command or a wish, but a simon-pure statement of fact," the magistrate told the patrolman. "In the ordinary course of life, and entirely within the realm of our belief, it is quite possible that you can go to hell."—*From a news item in The New York Times.*

The only useful purpose the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad has served during the past thirteen years has been to furnish transportation to local communities and to provide employment for its workers.—*From the Reconstruction Finance Corporation's report on the M. and St. L. R. R.*

Prezzolini, Giuseppe, 1882—. He edited in Florence, 1908 and ff., the weekly La Voce, to which almost all interesting personalities contributed, from Papini to Croce, from Salvemini to the young Mussolini. Many of the new generation were, so to speak, born in La Voce; they were all geniuses, but some of them were really bright.—*From an article, "Contemporary Italian Literature," by G. A. Borgese, in Books Abroad.*

Communism-Won't-Work Department

Here is the Thanksgiving dinner menu of Soviet explorers at the North Pole weather camp: Canned soup, canned vegetables, smoked sausages, dried meat, cakes, tea. Few Soviet citizens ever heard of Thanksgiving Day.—*Moscow dispatch of the Associated Press to The Hollywood, Calif., Citizen-News.*

Give Me Chastity or Give Me Death!

How easy it is to lead youth to die for an ideal upon the advice of their elders, the cemeteries in France declare. It should not be more difficult to persuade a young man that chastity is an experience he owes himself.—*Donald Culross Peattie, pointing "A Way to Chastity," in Reader's Digest.*

Retract Those Words, Suh

Wickedness in a crystal flacon! "Sinful Soul" perfume glamorous! The enchantment, the spice, the subtle allurement are a compliment to any woman! It's wicked . . . it's glowing . . . it's alive! The very essence of a sparkling, gay deception . . . gift-boxed for Her! . . .—*Advertisement in The Atlanta, Ga., Journal.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—THE EDITORS.

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CORRESPONDENCE

What Not to Do in the Far East

SIR: Bruce Bliven's discussion of "Collective Insecurity" [The New Republic, December 1] is clear and comprehensive to an old soldier who has had active campaign experience in all our wars of the past fifty years, and who has knowledge of the Far East from his eleven consecutive years' service in the Philippines.

I would like to emphasize two points: First, the desirability of applying our Neutrality Act in order—among other things—greatly to clarify the public mind and lessen the existing confusion of thought about the war in China; and, second, the proposal for a distant blockade of Japan by combining the American and British fleets with a view to operating from Panama westward around to the Straits of Malacca, at Singapore. A peaceful blockade of this kind is being favored by some who are anxious to find a way of imposing sanctions on Japan. Such a blockade would be in effect a declaration of war against Japan; she would have no alternative to striking at once at all the interests of the two blockading powers in reach of the Japanese fleet.

The two large fleets would be unable to maintain such a blockade: the seas are too vast, the complications too numerous and the lack of bases too evident. No war has even been fought over such a distance as separates Japan and America, some 6,000 miles, where there were fleets on both sides. No blockade at such distances has ever been maintained. However, let us try to imagine a peaceful Europe and a British fleet in the East, in order to begin the cooperative blockade with the fleet of the United States. Suppose, also, that on hearing of the plans for the blockade, Japan held her main fleet intact and did not seize the Philippines and our small base at Manila. Suppose then that Japan, with a portion of her main fleet and some of her seventy submarines, seized one of our excellent ice-free harbors in the Aleutians, up in Alaska. Such action would have flanked the American advance base in the Hawaiians, and it would force the United States fleet to give up the blockade in order to return for the defense of our West Coast cities.

The United States has an unequaled alert position from which to observe the affairs of Eastern Asia—our normal line of defense—the line from the Aleutians to the Hawaiians and on to the Panama Canal. The United States possesses no territory in China, while France and Britain control large areas of territory which they took from the Chinese by force. The future of Eastern Asia must inevitably be settled by the people who live there—by the Chinese, the Japanese and the Russians. For example, we do not desire to have any power from afar come with armed forces to South America, and in case of a war there, give armed aid to one side or the other. The Japanese will not attempt to annex the Philippine Republic, because such action would interfere with Japan's trade in the islands and require a division of the Japanese fleet opposite Soviet Russia.

WILLIAM C. RIVERS,
Major General, U.S.A. (Retired).

New York City.

Allocating the War Guilt

SIR: I am referring to the editorial note in your October 6 issue headed "Worth a Little Attention" in which you ask if Fritz Kuhn, Luigi Criscuolo and Ogden Hammond like the aerial bombing of Chinese cities by the Japanese, as illustrated recently in the newsreels in American theatres, "showing streets full of debris, and bodies of dead or wounded victims of both sexes and all ages."

Speaking only for myself, I will say: *I do not like it.*

I was originally in favor of the establishment of the League of Nations. I was in favor of the Briand-Kellogg Pact and expressed myself to that effect when it was signed in 1928, in an article published by The New York Times. However, both the League of Nations and the Briand-Kellogg Pact have so far failed signally because the two most powerful nations in the League, Great Britain and France, are in favor of peaceful settlement of diplomatic differences *only when it suits their own ends.* The result is: Japan in Manchuria; the Chaco wars; Italy in Ethiopia; Germany and Italy in Spain; and now Japan in China proper. . . .

Since you mentioned me as an outstanding partisan of Italian fascism, I want you and your readers to know that *I am not a fascist* but an American citizen who still believes in the Constitution and who prefers the American system with all of its faults.

I believe the Italian people have a right, as voiced by the majority, to the form of government which they wish, without interference from the outside. I entertain similar views as to the Russians, Germans, Poles and other peoples. I believe that if the peoples of the fascist countries feel that fascism is better for them as a system of government than democracy or communism, that is their right.

Italy's invasion of Ethiopia is not comparable to Japan's invasion of China. If Italian propagandists, including Ciano and Alfieri, had any real conception of how propaganda is prepared for consumption in Anglo-Saxon countries, they would have made of Ethiopia another Cuba where the military governors had oppressed millions of black people and had kept them in a state of filth, ignorance, disease and poverty for centuries. . . .

Now, I do not condone the bombing of Ethiopian villages, or the use of gas, but all of this has been done by Britain and every other "civilized" nation in the past, though in a different form. It is being done by Japan in China, is being done by Loyalists and Nationalists in Spain . . . and will probably be done by many nations including our own United States in any future war.

Britain and the United States together could have taken a firm stand when Japan first invaded Manchuria and could have made their influence felt. They did nothing. Now they arraign Japan, Germany and Italy!

Now as to Spain: the complaint is made that Italy and Germany have supplied men and munitions to General Franco for fighting the Loyalists in Spain. Mussolini's attitude toward Spain may appear unpleasant to Americans, but that must also be judged by European standards and not by American ideals. . . .

New York City. LUIGI CRISCUOLO.

"The Nile"

SIR: Among "Hundred Notable Books" of this year [The New Republic, December 8] I do not find "The Nile." As I am since a long time an ardent admirer of your excellent paper I would be very interested to hear why you excluded this book from these hundred which had "the most interest for our own time."

EMIL LUDWIG.

New York City.

Answering Barks

SIR: As a regular reader of your periodical, I wish to condemn in no uncertain terms the article "A Yip from the Doghouse" (December 15) by William Allen White. . . . Mr. White is in my opinion not a liberal but a reactionary whose philosophy coincides with that of such magazines as The Commentator and The Literary Digest.

It is Mr. White's assumption that it is the middle class which decides issues in America. But Mr. White is not nearly specific enough. The truth of the matter is that it is the lower-middle classes plus the "lower third" of our nation who are deciding our issues today. . . .

In believing that it is the (upper) middle class that counts, Mr. White falls into the same error as The Literary Digest did in its poll of 1936. Why did The Digest err? Simply because they (like Mr. White) did not take into the account the fact that a tremendous lower-middle class was rising and this class was (and is) allied with the proletarian "lower third" of our nation. Thus when Mr. White speaks of a "dominant" middle class which would

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turn fascist overnight—and dirty (wahoo!) I feel that we have good reason to say Pooh or even Foo! . . .

Certainly when the CIO can organize 3,000,000 workers in seventeen months, when a labor party can poll almost 500,000 votes in New York City alone in the short space of a year, all is not lost, in fact everything remains to be won if we try hard enough.

With a little less fear and a lot more courage and confidence a strong farmer-labor party can be formed by 1940 and should be dominant, or at least hold the balance of power, in the 1944 elections.

Bronx, N. Y. MAX MORESH.

SIR: William Allen White's "A Yip from the Doghouse" reminds me that he voted for another tried-and-true liberal, Alf M. Landon, in the last presidential election.

If it would not spoil Mr. White's Christmas—in view of his recent illness—and if it's not too impertinent, it would be interesting to know what liberal candidates he voted for during the national elections of 1916, 1920, 1924, 1928 and 1932.

Philadelphia, Pa. L. M.

SIR: Upon hearing "A Yip from the Doghouse" I am inclined to attempt to silence the occupant, lest he disturb the neighbors. William Allen White may have marched at Armageddon with T. R. in 1912, but his rate of marching since has been such that, relatively at least, it has merely kept him in the same place. The world of democracy in the meantime has moved so far to the left that the position of a liberal of 1912 is today to the right even of a conservative. In short he is a reactionary by any recent definition of the term.

Detroit, Mich. DONALD L. MACNEAL.

SIR: The trouble with "liberals" like Doghouse Yipper William Allen White is that they fail to comprehend Utopias other than those of their own fashioning. And their own thinking is so muddled that they wallow around in the fog of bewilderment until they delude themselves into a vote for Landon. Liberalism must adjust itself to the times. Today the existence of strong anti-humanitarian states makes necessary a strong and militant liberalism. Characters like White are "liberals" during fair weather. They don't think realistically when it comes to phenomena like Hitler and Mussolini. Their influence and help today do little or no good to militant liberalism. Theirs is a negative existence in an affirmative world. Let them throw away their rose-colored glasses. Let them *look*.

Detroit, Mich. S. A. K.

Protecting the Coal Consumer

SIR: During the last week or so representatives of big business have been besieging the National Bituminous Coal Commission to reverse its recently announced price policy which sought to place the small consumer on a more equal footing with industrial consumers.

Some time ago, the Commission fixed a schedule of minimum prices for soft coal at the mine, to go into effect on December 16 in all areas east of the Mississippi. This schedule provided that coal for industrial and railroad fuel purposes would cost more than in the past, but that domestic consumers would have the advantage of lower prices than they formerly enjoyed. Prices on double-screened coal commonly used by householders were decreased from five to fifteen cents below the level proposed by the industry.. . . .

The action of the Commission, however, has had wide repercussions in industry, and the lobbyists of the large corporations are now working overtime in Washington. We may well expect in the next few months a steadily increased pressure in high places to eliminate the substantial consideration which has recently been accorded the householder. It is to be hoped that New Republic readers and the consumer generally will make the National Bituminous Coal Commission in Washington aware that it has their support in its effort to protect the domestic consumer, and that the public will brook no retreat in the Commision's low-price policy.

New York City. HARRY W. LAIDLER.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

America's foreign policy and particularly her policy toward the Far East is the subject of a great many letters this week. Norborne Harris Crowell of Ithaca, New York, derides the "claptrap about discriminating between aggressor and victim." Ethical factors, he declares, have nothing to do with the "hellish business of war"; a great many of us are "fed up on Holy Wars." . . . Lawrence Braymer of Lahaska, Pennsylvania, sends us a clipping which quotes an editorial from The National Zeitung saying that Great Britain and the United States should stick to neutrality in the Far East. "When The New Republic," Mr. Braymer writes, "wants what Hitler wants, I catch on quick and know what I *don't* want." . . . Dr. J. J. Burns of Nazareth College, Kalamazoo, Michigan, applauds the neutrality policy of The New Republic. "The same factors and groups that successfully transformed Americans from a comparatively neutral citizenry into one crying for German blood in 1914-17 are operating today to produce an anti-Japanese public opinion sufficiently powerful to support Anglo-American intervention. The same high-sounding slogans are being dragged out (international morality and law, democracy versus autocracy, civilization versus barbarism) to justify action against a power menacing British (and very incidentally American) interests in the Far East."

Dr. L. A. Eldridge Jr., of Great Neck, Long Island, describes the article by William P. Mangold, "Why Franco Has Hesitated" (December 22), as a "much needed, freshening breeze blowing through the news from Spain, effectively dispelling the murk which has been spread." . . . The summary of a letter by Samuel Duker of Washington, D. C., printed in this column in the November 10 issue, was, he writes, misleading. The letter read: "Three months after Japan's invasion of China the American League against War and Fascism has come out for a boycott of Japan. Four years after Hitler's attack on the German people the League continues its equivocal stand on the Nazi boycott. However, since Hitler has promised that his regime will last 1,000 years there need be no hurry on the matter."

R. C. O'Brien of New York City writes that "sensible people" do not understand or appreciate the effect that radio is having upon the dissemination of the news of the world. . . . Linton B. Swift protests against the common tendency to lump the Russian and fascist regimes together under a single heading and sends us a careful analysis of their dissimilarities. . . . Mrs. Bertha Moller Delin of Chicago augments the description of the Stockwells of Minnesota by Dorothy Walton Binder (December 22) with an account of the "genuinely cultural and thorough educational background these fine people added to their intellectual courage."

What's on the Air?

Dr. Walmar Falcao, Minister of Labor, Industry and Commerce of Brazil, and spokesman for Dictator Getulio Vargas, speaks on Thursday, December 30, 6 P.M., CBS.

Hendrik Willem van Loon talks on a topic of current interest, Friday, December 31 and Tuesday, January 4, 7:30 P.M., NBC-Red Network.

The difficulties which the National Labor Relations Board has had on the Weirton Steel Company case are dramatized by the American School of the Air, Monday, January 3, 2:30 P.M., CBS.

Musical programs of the week inelude a New Year's Watch Meeting, as held by plantation Negroes on the Santee, presented by the Eva Jessye Choir, Friday, December 31, 10 P.M., CBS; the Metropolitan Opera broadcast of Mozart's "Don Giovanni" Saturday, January 1, 1:55 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; Arturo Toscanini conducting the NBC Symphony Orchestra, Saturday, January 1, 10 P.M., NBC-Red and Blue Network; Mischa Elman as soloist with the Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York, Sunday, January 2, 3 P.M., CBS; and the Philadelphia Orchestra conducted by Fritz Reiner, Monday, January 3, 9 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

The attention of listeners in the vicinity of New York City is called to Station WQXR, which, with a minimum of advertising, presents a program consisting very largely of classical and light-classical music.

All times given are Eastern Standard Time.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Nobel Prize Novel: II

WHEN, in the three latest volumes[1] of his novel, Roger Martin du Gard pictures the forty days before the War, he does not spare the Socialists. They too, he seems to say, deserved their share of blame, not for starting or fanning or feeding the fire but for failing to do everything in their power to put it out. They let themselves be taken by surprise; they had been expecting a war but not so soon; their great peace congress in Vienna was to have been held in August. Moreover, they were weakened by quarrels among themselves, between evolutionists and revolutionists; and in France the assassination of Jaurès left them leaderless and paralyzed. They called neither a general strike nor local strikes; in the end they marched off to be slaughtered with all the other cattle.

But there were some Socialists—the novelist seems to say—whose guilt was more positive. They believed that a general war would lead to a general revolution, and therefore they made only a show of fighting against the war-makers. To prove this point, Martin du Gard invents an episode, one of the very few in the book that seems purely fictitious. The Socialists, through their own secret service, have managed to steal the record of conversations between the German and Austrian general staffs. The papers are smuggled into Belgium and turned over to Meynestrel, a revolutionist nicknamed "the Pilot." After reading them carefully he reflects on the situation as follows: First, the papers prove that the two staffs have been plotting together to force a general mobilization by Russia, so that Germany too would have to mobilize. Second, they could still be published in the German Socialist press. Third, they might have no effect whatever, or, on the other hand, they might cause such a revulsion of public feeling as to keep Germany out of the War. Was that what the Pilot wanted? "Not that," he mutters, "not that. If there is even one chance in a hundred of stopping the war, we must not run that chance." A few hours later he burns the documents.

I hear that this episode has roused more controversy than anything else in Martin du Gard's long novel. It seems to me psychologically plausible, given the history of socialism and the personal character of the Pilot. From the very beginning there has been a heresy in the radical movement; for want of a better name we might call it Worsism. It consists in the belief that, since things have to get worse before getting better, we might as well help to make them worse. It is comparable to the Christian heresy which holds that it takes a great sinner to make a great saint, and that the first step toward sainthood is therefore to become a great sinner. Worsism has always been attacked by the official Socialists and Communists, and for the best of reasons, but it has been kept alive by the dissident sects. At times it has affected some of the party leaders (as witness the trials for sabotage in Russia). There is no reason to believe that it did not influence the attitude toward the War of twisted, unhappy people like the Pilot.

On the other hand, it seems unjust for the novelist to emphasize this point while failing to discuss the guilt of those capitalists who would rather fight a war across the Rhine than face a strike in their own factories. Jules Romains, in "Men of Good Will," has something of the same false emphasis, though not so much of it. Louis Aragon, in "The Real World," puts most of the blame for the War on the munitions makers, the oil cartel and the French and German investors who were quarreling over the right to exploit Morocco.

It is certainly no accident that the three longest novels now being written in France should all of them deal with the same general subject. The years before 1914 now seem a golden age of comfort and irresponsibility. The story of that age and how it ended in war is also, by implication, the problem of another war and how it is likely to begin. Each of the novelists approaches the problem in his own way and with his own degree of talent.

Of the three, Louis Aragon is the most gifted by nature and, in achievement, the most uneven. He rises to clean heights of feeling, he slips back into swamps of sentiment, he sometimes gets tangled in his own plot, as in a jungle—then, breaking loose from it, he goes marching ahead toward a goal that he sees clearly, without always being sure of his immediate path. Like Romains and Martin du Gard, he is writing a novel that will appear in sections, over a period of years, but so far he has finished only two volumes. The first, published here as "The Bells of Basel," was better in parts than as a whole. Many of its readers suspected that Aragon was perhaps not a novelist at all: that his real talent lay in satire and poetry. But the second and still untranslated volume, "Les Beaux Quartiers," is less impatient and more unified as a story. With its bitterness, its eloquence, its romantic melodrama and its interest in the underside of French society, it makes one feel that Aragon might become the Balzac of our times—always on condition that he neglected his twenty other jobs, editorial, organizational, educational, and merely wrote novels.

Toward Jules Romains I find it hard to be completely fair. I feel so hostile toward his bad qualities—his ostentation, his love of mystifying the public (and sometimes himself), his pretentious pseudo-science, his lack of taste—that sometimes I forget his perfectly obvious virtues. More than any other novelist of our time, he has shown the power to form and execute a really grandiose plan. When it comes to inventing characters and incidents, his fertility is just short of being miraculous. But chiefly he has a genius for patience and for gathering a patiently enormous stock of information. In this respect, Zola is the only other novelist with whom he can be compared.

As for Roger Martin du Gard, he resembles none of the French masters past or present. Moreover, he seems at first glance to have no strongly marked character of his own. There is little color in his prose, which is classical in syntax and sometimes rather slipshod in its choice of words. The technique is simply that of the realistic tradition: it includes none of the innovations that were made by the Symbolists with the aim of suggesting new overtones or revealing new depths of emotion. Everything is reasonable, purely objective, and the author does not intrude his personal judgments—it is as if he effaced himself from his own novel with the same modesty he has shown in literary society. At most his personality reveals itself in the form of a scrupulous and almost passionate fairness toward all his characters. There are no villains here: even a sinister figure like

[1] L'Eté 1914, by Roger Martin du Gard. Paris: Librairie Gallimard. 3 vols. 51 francs.

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Meynestrel's is depicted with pity and understanding. By virtue of this effort toward even-handed, even-tempered justice, he makes one think of Galsworthy—and that, to me, seems the mildest sort of praise.

He is not a great writer, you often think when reading him, yet there is something in his work that is both appealing and courageous. There are times when he seems to be saying: "This is difficult material and I can't handle it with the subtlety of Gide or Proust or with the tragic violence of Malraux. My talent is not so great as theirs, but I propose to do my best with what I have." In scene after scene he does just that—and the more difficult the subject, the better he seems to do. The beginning of "L'Eté 1914," where his problems are simple, makes dullish reading. But in the third and last volume he is trying to do something almost impossible, that is, to paint the whole changing mood of Paris during the week before mobilization—first incredulity, then revolt against war, then bewilderment and resignation, then finally the patriotic frenzy that reigned while the first squadrons of cavalry went clopping through the streets and disappeared toward the north, and the crowds screamed, "To Berlin! To Berlin!" Here he rises to the level of his subject; here he justifies the international recognition he has won at last and almost in spite of himself.

MALCOLM COWLEY.

The CIO in Action

When Labor Organizes, by Robert R. R. Brooks. New Haven: Yale University Press. 361 pages. $3.

CIO: Industrial Unionism in Action, by J. Raymond Walsh. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 293 pages. $2.50.

IN THEIR brief history the new industrial unions have accumulated important experiences, but their present problems require a set of principles which will be a guide to further development. The growth of the CIO has itself shown that the unions must generalize their day-to-day practices, even though the leaders and the rank and file may be traditionally distrustful of theory. Step by step, the CIO has worked out guiding principles: industrial unionism to organize the unorganized; mass action to win strikes; social and labor legislation to aid the unions and the workers generally; independent political action to safeguard the economic organizations of the workers and, finally, theoretical arguments to combat the anti-union ballyhoo of the spokesmen for reaction.

Labor, having come of age in the United States, must have theory to tie its many activities together and to chart its future course. The two books under review, although each is useful and informative in its own way, do not meet this fundamental need. Of course, the authors may not have considered such an approach, but their books would have far more value, even practical value, if they had really tackled a few central issues and thereby furnished some working generalizations for the labor movement.

Dr. Brooks, an economist from Williams College, has written an excellent manual of trade-union practice. He tells how unions are organized, how they shape policies with regard to wages, working hours and conditions. And from these peripheral observations, which are very good as far as they go, he ventures some cautious speculations about the role of unions in our society. His caution—he calls it the "pragmatic" approach—keeps him from following certain of his own implications to their logical social conclusion. He points out, for instance, that the workers have "discovered from trying experience that social rights and economic status rest upon the power of the group rather than upon individual desires or the fiction of natural law." Yet he fails to see that the logic of group action makes class instrumentalities of the unions, even when the workers or their leaders may not think so. Big business knows this; that is why it regards the unions as organizing centers for the working class, as encroachments upon its control and power.

Dr. Brooks has written one of the best summaries of anti-union methods used by employers, but he never develops the inferences inherent in the facts he presents. The following statement has enormous significance, but he cites it in passing as just another item: "Conservative unionism . . . contains revolutionary implications in that it transfers power from ownership to labor and from management to the leaders of labor." Dr. Brooks apparently thinks that the labor movement does not have, or does not need, a general theory. That makes his chapter on labor in an evolving social system just another blueprint for the good society. He says that labor is the social group which can best "maximize the production and distribution of goods and services," the laudable goal that he sets for the nation. Then why not elaborate the point that "no matter how completely society is organized as consumers, the conflicts of producer interests remain?"

If Dr. Brooks suffers from shyness toward theory, Dr. Walsh goes wrong in another direction. He attempts to graft doctrines which are antithetical to the purpose of unionism on the program of the CIO, with unfortunate results. Although he was victimized by Harvard for organizing teachers and workers, his book gives the impression of seeing the labor movement at second-hand. Perhaps this is because the book "had to be telescoped within a few short weeks," which may also account for certain minor errors. Dr. Walsh gives the dates and main events of the CIO, but he does not place it within the larger framework of American history since 1929. Hence he appeals to the CIO to stretch out "a conciliatory hand," but before his book was off the press the CIO had already taken the initiative to reunite the labor movement—a step which was in conformity with the whole pattern of its development and program and which could be undertaken only at a time when the whole relation of national forces had changed.

Dr. Walsh attempts to do more than give an exciting journalistic account, but he has not sufficiently digested the experiences of the CIO, or the A. F. of L. for that matter. Consequently, Dr. Brooks has written the more useful book. From him you can at least learn what the trade unions are fighting for, while Dr. Walsh gives you chapters on economics, politics and tactics which have little relation to the realities which the CIO will face when it maps out its approach to the demand that every worker be guaranteed the right to work.

The labor movement needs more than manuals or running stories. John L. Lewis has called the CIO a streamlined movement. If it is not to be derailed, it must have a deeper understanding of its role, its problems and its future. As organized labor reaches into new fields, its progressive leaders are more and more getting down to the fundamentals of the society in which we live. In the person of Lewis there is typified the growing economic and political maturity of the American labor movement. From its ranks and from students who realize the need of equipping the movement with adequate theory, there should come important works, such as a history of the CIO, as a companion volume to Dr. Brooks's trade-union manual.

DAVID RAMSEY.

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Types of Philosophy

Four Ways of Philosophy, by Irwin Edman. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 339 pages. $2.

MR. EDMAN'S new book constitutes an excellent introduction to four perennial modes of philosophizing. Its excellence springs from the qualities which in the past have gained for Mr. Edman his reputation—intellectual sensibility, imagination and a style that is distinguished for its lucidity and its sensuous beauty.

When one first considers the four types of philosophy which Mr. Edman chose for exposition one cavils at the selections. The choice of idealism and of naturalism is of course fitting, since these are the two main traditions of Western philosophy. But why "Philosophy as Mystical Insight" and "Philosophy as Social Criticism"?

A reading of the chapter, however, fully justifies the selection of mysticism. Though Mr. Edman is a naturalist, he obviously has very deep sympathy for attitudes which are hardly compatible with his professed philosophy. The result is that he writes about these attitudes with a warmth and an intimate knowledge which are truly admirable. And yet the chapter is not without its difficulties. Mr. Edman shares with the mystic the belief that "the profoundest kind of knowledge is not the most external but the most intimate." But is this sort of intimate experience "knowledge"? And if the naturalist "does not assert that the relations of facts and consequences established in experimental inquiry are 'reality,'" the reason is not that reality cannot be grasped through scientific knowledge—there is no other kind of knowledge—but that the effort to grasp it in any other than in an external way is meaningless. This is what a wholehearted naturalist should conclude. Recent investigations into method force us to distinguish between "experience" and "knowledge." And the distinction cuts the ground from under mystics and philosophers who crave for a "knowledge" which is a sort of mental devouring—a "rapt engulfment", in Mr. Edman's phrase—of the thing known.

But as regards the choice of philosophy as social criticism, one's doubts are not dispelled on reading the chapter. And the reason is that while social criticism must necessarily be an important part of any complete philosophy, by itself it is not "a philosophy." Any serious discussion of any thing, no matter how trivial, soon leads beyond itself into analysis of what are vaguely called the "philosophical assumptions," on which any discourse rests. Serious social criticism soon leads beyond politics into purely theoretical problems of value, of method and the like. And it would be this inquiry, and not the social criticism by itself, that would be a "philosophy."

This point is of some importance because there is a tendency afoot in some quarters to disparage in the name of human sympathy the serious and necessary tasks of theoretical analysis. The tendency, it would not be difficult to demonstrate, leads inevitably to superficiality and sentimentalism in practice. Mr. Edman is fully aware of the importance of abstract philosophy for practical life. But I fear that failure to point out with sufficient emphasis that philosophy which is social criticism and nothing more is not a philosophy, aids a movement with which I believe he would not want to identify himself.

These remarks are not meant to be a derogation of Mr. Edman's achievement. He is one of those rarities, a fully qualified schoolman who writes for the worldly reader, is able to relate philosophy to the rest of life, and yet does not offer his readers the pre-digested pap with which the victims of philosophy courses are so frequently served. Introductions to philosophy are legion. But the reviewer has seldom come upon one so urbane, so stimulating and so thoroughly free from the stigmata of the pedagogue.

ELISEO VIVAS.

The Black Republican

Great Leveler: The Life of Thaddeus Stevens, by Thomas Frederick Woodley. New York: Stackpole Sons. 474 pages. $3.50.

THANKS to the propaganda of Neo-Confederate novelists and historians, Thaddeus Stevens has been pretty successfully metamorphosed, for the American mind, into a grotesque amalgam of Herod, Caligula, Canfield and William Marcy Tweed. Thousands of Americans who have perhaps forgotten his name, have visualized Stevens as the club-footed, bewigged, sensual and insanely malignant Stoneman of "The Clansman" and "The Birth of a Nation." It is hardly surprising that the Klan mentality should have bodied forth the great Radical in some such Old Bowery guise as this, but sober historians, in their description of him, have trodden fairly closely on the heels of Dixon and Griffith. For George Fort Milton, Stevens is "the Pennsylvania Caliban," "an apostle of proscription and hate"; and Claude Bowers, in a more balanced portrait, has dwelt at studied length on Stevens the cynic, the habitual gambler, the alleged lover of his mulatto housekeeper. In the program of rewriting American history from a pro-slavery point of view, the defamation of Thaddeus Stevens has played an essential role.

Mr. Woodley, whose book was first published at Harrisburg a year or two ago, has raised his voice against this caricature of a remarkable personality and a remarkable career. It was a job that badly needed doing. With all the limitations and even the vices of which his enemies made so much—and which, in a Pliable or a Facing-Both-Ways, would have passed unnoticed—Thaddeus Stevens was one of the great radical democrats in American political history, and the Bourbons ought not to be permitted to impose their version of him on the public mind. It was no Stoneman, no Caliban, for example, who saved the free schools of Pennsylvania when they were threatened with annihilation in the thirties, and who earned for himself the title of Father of the Common School System of Pennsylvania. He fought for free schools because he believed passionately, as his self-written epitaph proclaims, in "the Equality of Man before his Creator." It was this belief, and not at all the vindictiveness of an embittered and narrow nature, that animated Stevens' yearlong and extremist struggle against what he called "the hellish institution of slavery"; and nothing could be shallower or more unhistorical than to see only venom and malice in his determination, during the Civil War and Reconstruction, to work for the thorough destruction of a social system that, if allowed to restore itself, would mean the renewed hegemony of slave-owners in the federal state and a permanent status of inferiority for both Negroes and "poor whites" in the South.

Mr. Woodley's book is written with less literary power and less breadth of historical understanding than one could wish, but it is a sincere and informed vindication of Thaddeus Stevens' role in the anti-slavery conflict and of his great qualities as a man. Mr. Woodley's or some other scholar's next contribution should be a selection, in one large volume, from Stevens' speeches in Pennsylvania and in Congress: it is a bibliographical scandal that no such volume now exists.

NEWTON ARVIN.

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Science for Everybody

Ascaris: The Biologist's Story of Life, by Dr. Richard Goldschmidt. New York: Prentice-Hall. 399 pages, illustrated. $3.25.

THIS IS a little masterpiece of popular science that deserves to rank with the finest scientific writing of our day, as we know it in the work of Lancelot Hogben, J. B. S. Haldane, Julian Huxley and the American geneticist, Hermann Muller. The author, who found his way from Germany to a professorship at the University of California, conceived the idea of telling the story of evolution as disclosed by a study of one of nature's humblest and least honored organisms: the pale and repulsive-looking worm Ascaris, whose parasitic habitat is the intestines of man and animals. Stage by stage, in a narrative characterized by great erudition, charm and a delightful sense of humor, we are told the salient facts of anatomy, physiology, the nervous system, reproduction, heredity and development as they are suggested by the microscope and the dissecting knife so skillfully directed upon Ascaris. Of particular significance is the chapter on the chromosomes, in which Dr. Goldschmidt takes issue with the gene theory as elaborated by Dr. Morgan and his colleagues. We are now presented with the chromosome as the "decisive" unit in heredity—although, curiously enough, on a later page, Dr. Goldschmidt would seem to regard the role of the gene as "a thoroughly proved fact."

Scientific Progress, by Sir James Jeans, Sir William Bragg and others. New York: The Macmillan Company. 210 pages. $2.

In this small volume we follow six eminent British scientists in their search for truth and progress. Sir James Jeans opens the symposium with some characteristic reflections on the inner mathematical significance of the universe. Physics, electricity and medicine are discussed with competence and a varying social insight by Sir William Bragg, E. V. Appleton and Edward Mellanby. The last-named, who believes in "the desirability of counting our blessings," does not get much support for this attitude from the contribution on Genetics, in which J. B. S. Haldane, with his usual brilliance and sturdy common sense, exposes a number of tiresome fallacies concerning race, character, heredity and environment. Haldane's work with the Spanish Loyalists admirably demonstrates his ability to translate theory into practice. The final essay, "Science and Its Relation to Social Needs," gives us Julian Huxley at his best: as a shrewd critic of "abstract" science and as a resolute champion of scientific research consciously directed by a genuinely planned society in the interests of all. He is particularly harsh on the "lopsidedness" which grants huge research funds to so-called "industrial" purposes and an infinitesimal amount to medicine, physiology and social hygiene.

Everyday Science, by A. W. Haslett. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 330 pages. $2.75.

Having in a previous volume discussed "the unsolved problems of science," the science writer for The London Morning Post tries in this one to show us what the scientists have done to improve the lot of the average man and woman. The subjects range from food to fuel and from crime to housing, with instructive excursions into the field of clothing, transportation, nutrition and engineering. There is also a chapter on waste, presumably included to forestall any excess tendency to optimism. An abundance of homely examples and a lucid style that carefully avoids both the Scylla of technicalities and the Charybdis of metaphysics make the book ideal for comfortable armchair reading. As for prophecies, utopian or otherwise, there are none, nor does the author seek to disturb the complacent by any revolutionary conclusions.

Man, Bread and Destiny, by C. C. and S. M. Furnas. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 383 pages. $3.

This is really a story of the human stomach from caveman to twentieth-century gourmet and slum-dweller. Written by the author of "The Next Hundred Years," in collaboration with his wife, a nutrition expert, it tells a great deal not known to the average bread-winner, if very little that is new to the specialist. Both in subject matter and in general treatment it suggests the work of Paul de Kruif, though without that author's high-pressure indignation at social injustice. Of its seven parts the best are probably those dealing with the chemistry of food, nutritional and deficiency diseases, the vitamins (a very good survey), food habits of other peoples, the problem of what, when and how to cook—and a short chapter on "the future of food," both natural and artificial. An appendix tabulates the elements of the "adequate diet," and a twenty-page bibliography testifies to the authors' concern for thoroughness and accuracy of statement. There are several million Americans who may profit—however gloomily—from the section on food and health, particularly the chapter on "Decaying Teeth."

Early Man, as Depicted by Leading Authorities at the International Symposium, the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, March, 1937. Edited by George Grant MacCurdy. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 362 pages, illustrated. $5.

This is a book by—and principally for—trained specialists in the fields of prehistory and protohistory. As a condensed and authoritative summary of our present knowledge of early man it is admirable, containing as it does thirty-six contributions by as many scholars, and ranging in subject from marine pleistocene mollusks as time indicators to paleolithic industries in China. The techniques of a dozen sciences are shown at work upon the problem of human origins, including the recent "pollen analysis," described by the American, Paul B. Sears; and there are several illuminating accounts of the "evidence" for early man on this continent, particularly as indicated by the "Folsom deposits" in New Mexico and the "Vero finds" in Florida.

In their critical summary of this much agitated question Ales Hrdlicka renders a verdict of "not proved," and Herbert J. Spinden cogently reiterates his belief that the first humans to enter the continent were the Amerindians, one of whose culture-bases, Mongolian in character, probably "exists in neolithic cemeteries along the Angara, outlet of Lake Baikal." To those who understand and appreciate the many difficulties of the subject, this volume will be valuable as a guide and reference tool.

HAROLD WARD.

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New Books: A Reader's List

AN ABC OF ENGLISH USAGE, by H. A. Treble and G. H. Vallins (Oxford, $1.50). A neat 195-page primer of basic English construction, a sort of supplement to Fowler. Terms are listed alphabetically and well cross-referenced (under "Subordinate Clauses" for example, you would find an explanation of types and function, illustrated with both correct and incorrect usage); and favorite grammatical mistakes are given as well. Handy, clear and readable in a way the grammar books never were.

THE MORNING AFTER THE FIRST NIGHT, by George Jean Nathan (Knopf, $2.50). Another book of Nathan on the theatre and allied interests. The same dash of enthusiasm and bucket of spleen, as witty, elegant and wrongheaded as ever.

THE SAILOR'S HOLIDAY, by Eric Linklater (Farrar and Rinehart, $2). A short novel in a mood of fantasy, all about the constant surprising adventures through life ashore in England of a young chap off a boat—probably the most audaciously imaginative sailor of his time. It almost surmounts the extreme hazards of its type of fiction.

AFTER 1903—WHAT? by Robert Benchley (Harpers, $2.50). The further collected bits and sayings of a modest humorist. It is not for extended reading and the best of it is Gluyas Williams' generous work of illustration. It would be more killingly successful as a short called "How to Write a Book Called 'After 1903—What?'" done of course by no other.

THE IMPRESSIONISTS, with an introduction by Wilhelm Uhde (Oxford, $3). Here is still another of the really splendid art books printed in Vienna by the Phaidon Press. The artists represented are Manet (who gets more than a third of the book), Pissarro, Sisley, Monet, Renoir, Gauguin, Degas and Toulouse-Lautrec. There are 118 plates, of which 14 are in color, and a quite serviceable introduction.

Contributors

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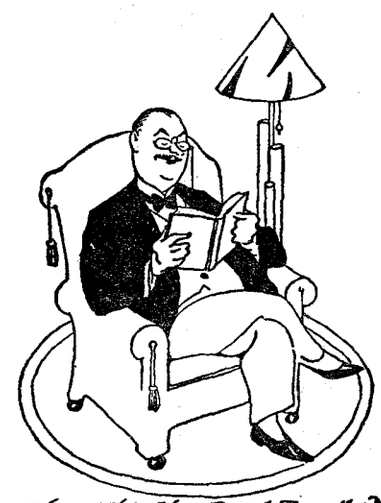

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